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## THE ARGENTINE REVOLUTION OF 1930

In a discourse entitled *The Technique of Revolution*, delivered before a session of the American Historical Association at its annual meeting in 1934, Dr. H. E. Bourne, then editor of the *American Historical Review*, very interestingly brought out the prevalence of a revolutionary technique common to those revolutions, which he had found in a study of the French Revolution of 1789, the German and Austrian Revolutions of 1848, and the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917.

Among the essential features of this technique were distinguished preliminary organization by the formation of clubs, committees of correspondence, and political parties; the spreading of propaganda by private meetings and public rallies; the stirring of enthusiasm by appeals to the multitude; and the intimidation of the government by mass petitions and marches led by students. Dr. Bourne also found that "whether revolutions shall gain complete control depends upon the army" and that for this reason it has always been an essential element of revolutionary technique to undermine the fidelity of the army. All of these standard forms of technique were employed to a greater or less extent in a recent successful revolution in Argentina in 1930.

In the history of this revolution, which might more appropriately be called a *coup d'état*, since it was practically bloodless, may be found the usual preliminary preparation by means of correspondence, private meetings, and the formation

of clubs; then the spreading of propaganda by mass meetings and the intimidation of the government by marches with students generally in the lead; and finally, success because the army failed to support the government.

The technique by which this revolution in Argentina was carried out to a successful conclusion will be clearly evident from a detailed narration of the events which took place there in the early days of September, 1930. This historical survey will also show that this revolution was a vast national movement in which the great mass of the people expressed its will.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In making this study of the Argentine Revolution of 1930 political questions have not been discussed, as being too involved and controversial; nor has any attempt been made to criticise or evaluate the right or wrong of political policies, for many questions bearing upon them still remain unsettled. In this article the author has therefore tried to adopt an entirely impartial attitude, and to relate events as they actually happened and as they were described in the newspapers of the day and in other contemporary accounts. As most of these accounts were sympathetic toward the revolution, it may seem that this article has not succeeded in avoiding all partisanship, although the author has endeavored honestly so to do. The character of these accounts only goes to prove the popularity of the revolution.

The facts upon which this article is based have been gathered from first hand sources, such as the Buenos Aires newspapers published during the first ten days of September, 1930, and from verbal accounts by eye-witnesses. The only secondary sources used have been compilations of primary sources, hence practically as authoritative as those sources themselves. All these were consulted in the Biblioteca Nacional in Buenos Aires.

When this article was written, each paragraph had at least one and frequently several footnote references to the authorities on which were based the statements which it contained. This resulted in a total of eighty-four footnotes, which appeared to make the article too cumbersome. The author therefore established the rule that only in the case of direct quotations, or statements of fact likely to be questioned, should his authorities be referred to, and then, having twice reviewed his references, he ruthlessly slashed all other footnotes, thereby reducing the number of those retained to the minimum consistent with good scholarship. In view of this elimination, it should be understood that there is reliable authority for every important statement made in this article. The sources used are listed herewith:

*Buenos Aires Herald*, Buenos Aires, September 1-9, 1930.

*La Nación*, Buenos Aires, September 1-9, 1930.

*La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, September 1-9, 1930.

Beresford Crawkes, J., *533 Días de Historia Argentina*, 6 de septiembre de 1930-20 de febrero de 1932. Buenos Aires, 1932.

In 1928, Hipólito Irigoyen, leader of the radical party, was elected president with an unprecedented majority. He was the most popular man in Argentina, and had the confidence of the nation, which he had, in his previous term as president (1916 to 1922), given an efficient and successful administration.

Unfortunately, during his second term, Irigoyen's age (seventy-five years) began to tell on his efficiency. He became stubborn, exacting, and imperious, apparently trusting no one, and trying to attend to every administrative detail himself. To keep all power in his own hands, Irigoyen appointed a ministry composed of obscure politicians, who showed themselves so submissive as even to allow the president to select their own private secretaries. Deceived by this apparent servility and immersed as he was in a mass of detail, the president did not realize that he himself was really the slave and that his will was controlled by some of his most unscrupulous subordinates. Government offices were filled with political henchmen recommended by ward bosses, even if it became necessary to make places for them by dismissing former incumbents. By himself receiving office seekers and making appointments personally, the president gave his private secretary enormous power and opportunities for graft, for the latter allowed no one to have an audience with the president without his own permission. Audiences were sold to the highest bidder, although it was rumored that pretty women were often exempted from cash payments. Senators, deputies, even governors, who thought it beneath their dignity to pay graft, sat in line in the anteroom day after day, waiting vainly their turn to transact public business with the president.

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Diez Periodistas Porteños, *Al Margen de la Conspiración*. Buenos Aires (second edition).

Espigares Moreno, J. M., *Lo que me dijo el Gral. Uriburu*, Buenos Aires, 1933.

Uriburu, Alberto E., *La Palabra del General Uriburu; Discursos, manifestos, declaraciones y cartas publicadas durante su gobierno*, Buenos Aires, 1933.

Portfolio of five printed manifestoes autographed by José Félix Uriburu, Buenos Aires, November 13, 1930.

Irigoyen continually interfered in the administrative work of his ministers, often revoking their acts, until most of them became mere rubber stamps. Nevertheless, he fell under the control of his minister of the interior, Elpidio González, who became the nemesis of the administration, encouraging the president in his high-handed intervention in the local governments of the provinces, and in his neglect of routine business, such as the payment of the just debts of the government and the appointment of diplomats to foreign countries. Between them, they tried to rule the radical party but succeeded only in splitting that party into two factions, the personalists, who followed the president blindly, and the anti-Irigoyenists, who opposed his control.

In the elections of March, 1930, the opposition won victories in the capital and in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos, and Córdoba, which gave the anti-Irigoyenists and other opposition parties such strength in congress that they were able to block business by a succession of legislative tricks. A large percentage of the sessions could do nothing for lack of a quorum, because the deputies and senators absented themselves rather than vote on administration measures. Sometimes, in order to prevent the opposition from gaining its points, the president ordered his own henchmen to remain away, whereas often the sessions consisted of mere voting without discussion.<sup>2</sup>

Irigoyen thus lost control not only over his own party but over the nation as well. From being a bold and imposing figurehead, he allowed himself to become a sort of vague myth. Popularly, he was spoken of as "the hermit of Calle Brazil". This was because he withdrew himself from public view and from the *Casa Rosada* (Government House), and spent most of his time at his home, a meager apartment over a shop at 1039 Brazil Street. There he seldom received any officials except the minister of the interior, but was accus-

<sup>2</sup> Most of the information contained in the three preceeding paragraphs has been obtained from Diez Periodistas Porteños, *Al Margen de la Conspiración*, pp. 9-14.

tomed to make as his confidant in public matters one Vicente Scarlato, who kept a boot-blackening stand in a shop across the street.

Thus the transaction of official business both by the executive and legislative branches of the government practically ceased just at the time when efficiency and activity were most needed to counteract the baneful effects of the world depression. As in 1932, the people of the United States, suffering from the depression, looked for a scapegoat in the president, so in 1930, in Argentina, that scapegoat was found in Irigoyen. The victory of the opposition in the congressional elections in March, 1930, was evidence of popular discontent, yet the voters realized that while the power of the ballot to get rid of Irigoyen lay in their hands, they could not use it until his term expired in 1934.

Not only, as will be remembered, were the politicians even of his own party opposed to the president, but almost every class in the nation felt a grievance against him. Labor, the stronghold of the radical party, was antagonistic because the government was delaying wages due them and blocking public improvements which might furnish them work, as it had the port works in the city of Rosario by failure to approve the contract for their completion.<sup>3</sup> The universities were in a state of more or less confusion owing to threatened changes in the personnel of their officials. The army and navy had lost their *esprit* and were stirred to indignation by the president's custom of promoting officers through favoritism and of letting merit and long service go unrewarded. It was said that he even antedated commissions so as to promote certain favorites after they had died. Bankers and capitalists feared a financial crash if the government continued its practice of drawing on the Bank of the Nation without regard to the exhaustion of its reserves. Wealthy hacienda owners, agriculturalists, and stock raisers, feeling the keenly falling prices of their products in the world markets, blamed the government for not

<sup>3</sup> *La Prensa*, September 4, 1930.

maintaining better trade relations with nations which had formerly bought their exported products. Merchants and importers, seeing their profits dwindling with the rapid depreciation of the peso, blamed the president for the failure of the stability of their currency.

Those suffering from the results of the depression, those whose dividends were dwindling, those whose customers failed to pay or even to buy, and those who had lost their jobs and had nothing to do except to growl, would naturally blame the government, even if the newspapers did not do it for them. Nearly all the leading members of the press were in systematic opposition. *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, the two most influential dailies, were not in sympathy with the president's methods, yet had to be more or less guarded in their criticisms of the government until the last moment. On September 2, 1930 the English language *Buenos Aires Herald* came out, however, with the following editorial:

Instead of grappling with the difficulties of the past two years the administration has allowed itself to be led into political squabbles, to hold up legislative effort, and to continue in the old system of paying for political assistance with civil appointments. . . . When one studies the past two years, the fact that hits [*sic*] the eye is that the government has done nothing to solve the problem, except to close the Caja de Conversión, a terrible error, and to decree national interventions in those provinces which did not happen to have elected partisans of the president. . . . On top of this it has injected politics into the army and navy, and filled the civil service with thousands of incompetents; going to the extent of appointing a professional boxer from the stockyards to a consular sinecure because he happened to be on his way to New York to fight for the light-weight crown. . . . The President has attempted to operate every office, and aspired to the fatherhood of his people by appointing all properly humble suppliants to government office. He has restricted the authority of his ministers and has flouted congress.<sup>4</sup>

At length, when illness kept him confined to his rooms, unable to perform any of his duties, press, politicians, and

<sup>4</sup> *Buenos Aires Herald*, September 2, 1930.

public demanded Irigoyen's resignation. The first overt act showing unmistakably the attitude of the people toward the government occurred on Sunday, August 31, at the formal opening of the annual cattle show of the Argentine Rural Society at Plaza Italia in the Palermo section of Buenos Aires. In the absence of the president, who was kept away because of illness, his minister of agriculture, Dr. Juan B. Fleitas, was to make the opening speech. As soon, however, as he appeared on the platform, he was greeted by whistling, cat calls, angry jibes, and cries of "Down with bad government". His voice and that of the president of the society were drowned in the uproar. The attitude of the crowd became so threatening that Dr. Fleitas had to be ushered by detectives into a private room, kept there for an hour, and then escorted to his automobile, whereas in the mad scramble of the crowd to get away, many society women were injured.

The nervousness of the government was manifested next day by frequent conferences (one lasting all night) between the ministers, and by orders to the police to post guards armed with rifles at public buildings and to prevent automobiles from stopping near the *Casa Rosada*. Its lack of confidence in the army and navy was shown by its orders to arrest certain officers, to confine all troops to their barracks, to keep the warships *Belgrano* and *Garibaldi* in the harbor, and to remove the locks from the rifles in the federal rifle range at Sante Fé.

Unrest was reflected in newspaper accounts of these precautions and of rumors of expected resignations among the ministers. A number of students of the Argentine universities organized a youth movement and issued a manifesto demanding an official explanation from the executive power for its alarming activities with the army and navy, insisting that the president either radically change his methods or else resign.

On September 2, the government continued its precautionary measures, including a search for arms made by the police; eleven professors of the faculty of law of the university re-

signed their positions; and a popular meeting was held in the General Mitre Theater to express disapproval of the government. Opposition was encountered from the firemen, who refused to obey orders to remain in quarters, claiming that they were civilians and not soldiers. General Dellepiane resigned in disgust his portfolio as minister of war, writing to the president that,

It has been impossible for me to perfect the organic laws by which the army is governed, to provide the country's forces with indispensable workshops, to modify administrative procedure, or to maintain the spirit of discipline as I have understood and practised it.<sup>5</sup>

Next day, although the government made a show of relaxing its precautionary measures, the minister of marine threatened to resign, and in the chamber of deputies forty-four senators and deputies from the opposition parties issued a manifesto calling a meeting of all citizens regardless of creed or party, to urge the government to bring back to normal the political condition of the country. This so-called "Manifesto of the Forty-four" claimed that the constitution had been violated by the executive

whose arbitrary and despotic will is to-day the only power which rules public affairs; . . . that the executive power has subverted and denaturalized the régime of autonomous provinces, has violated the laws of primary and secondary instruction, the organic laws of the army and navy, the keeping of the accounts of public works, the fairness of elections . . . and the inviolability of international treaties ratified by the nation; . . . that public monies have been pilfered without other authority than the caprice of the president and the election needs of the official party; that the president neglects agricultural interests when they need most care; and that the demoralization of our money has added grave economic evils.<sup>6</sup>

At about 6 o'clock in the evening of September 4, a meeting of students was held near the medical school of the university. León Tourres, president of the Argentine Medical

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, September 3, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in J. Beresford Crawkes, *533 Días de Historia Argentina*, pp. 11-17.

Club and of the Club of Medical Students, urged the students to collaborate in putting an end to the present state of political affairs and after several other students had harangued their colleagues, Dr. Fernando M. Bustos, student councillor of the faculty of medical science, told them to demand the resignation of Irigoyen, unless he should conform to the laws. The meeting then broke up into groups of from fifty to a hundred students who marched to the Avenida de Mayo and down that avenue, shouting "No dictators!" "He must resign!" "Death to dictators!" "Down with the tyrant!". These groups were constantly joined by passers-by, so that when they all merged in the Avenida de Mayo, there was a mob of 3,000 persons, who as they forced their way down the avenue, stopped in front of the various newspaper offices, hissing the government organs and cheering the opposition papers. From the balcony of one of the latter, *La Crítica*, they were addressed by national deputies and students. Dr. de Tomaso, one of the deputies, told them that

the government is dead. . . . Irigoyen must resign at once or he must be dragged from Government House. We must declare war on Irigoyenism.<sup>7</sup>

The spectators cheered and women on their balconies waved their handkerchiefs. The crowd had swollen to nearly 5,000. They broke down all resistance and surged into Plaza de Mayo toward Government House, where the student leaders surrounded the statue of Belgrano and clambered upon it to raise a flag. Police and members of the squadron of security, charging into the milling throng, tried to arrest the ring-leaders. Suddenly a revolver shot was heard and then others. A bystander was killed and two students and a member of the security squadron fell wounded. All was confusion! No one knew who fired the first shot, or the thirty odd shots which followed. One student testified he saw flashes coming from the windows of Government House, but could not be sure that the shots were aimed at the crowd which surrounded the

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

statue. José Ugardi, who was going home from work and was wounded as he was about to enter the subway station, believed the shot came from the direction of Government House, but was not certain. Colonel Graneros stated that the soldiers of his squadron of security did not fire on the students, as they believed the disturbance was caused by the confusion of the crowd. Other officials denied that firing came from Government House.

Yet the government was blamed for the "massacre". Students dipped their flags and people their handkerchiefs in the blood of the slain and cried "Make him resign! Make him resign!". Many of the newspapers next morning charged the government with responsibility for shedding the blood of students. *La Prensa* said:

The eight ministers who have remained passive under the capricious will of President Irigoyen will be judged responsible for these assassinations as they have been for all the actions and abuses of his government.

*La Nación* complained:

The saddest part of this event which is enough to make historical the second presidency of Irigoyen, rests in its utter futility. Nothing justified it; nothing excused it. The government, if it had possessed a minimum of sense, could have been able to avoid it.

*La Razón* reported:

The results of last night's mistake of the government are one student killed and three wounded and one member of the Squadron of Security dangerously wounded in the hospital.

*Crítica* declared:

Now the hand of the government is stained with blood, . . . there is no longer any government. Irigoyen is no longer president of the republic. He lacks moral authority. He has gained the hatred of all. He has hidden himself in his fortress on Brazil Street. The government at present is in a grotesque position which would make us laugh, did not the warm blood of boys shot by the pretorian guard of Irigo-

yen make us clench our fists in indignation and make our lips hiss, "Let him resign! Let him resign!"<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, Irigoyen was so seriously ill with grippe that he was confined to his rooms by order of the doctor, and was allowed to see no one but his secretary and the minister of the interior. These, fearing that the truth might kill him, kept back news of the growing popular opposition, until, on September 5, they had to tell him the truth and to urge him to resign. Not realizing the seriousness of affairs, he asked for a delay of three days, in order to consider matters. But when this was found inadvisable, he agreed to compromise, by delegating his executive authority to the vice president, Enrique Martínez, until the restoration of his own health.

Dr. Martínez at once assumed the powers of president, and with the approval of the ministers, issued a decree declaring a state of siege in the capital for a period of thirty days. The notice of this temporary transfer of power did not in any way pacify the people, but appeared to increase their anger. Students gathered publicly to mourn the death of their comrade, while crowds clashed with those who ventured to uphold Irigoyen. The squadron of security was equipped with rifles and revolvers as well as with sabers in order to prevent tumults in the streets, while police called on the firemen to help charge rioters. Yet the police acted weakly, for they were uncertain whether their superiors were still in power.

The general impression seemed to be that the government was bound to fall sooner or later, and this impression was strengthened by the excessive precautions which it took to protect its position. A censorship on political news was enforced, so that the newspapers appeared with several blank columns. All roads to the city were guarded and vehicles were searched before they were permitted to enter, while armed patrols and excessive numbers of police kept traffic moving through the streets of the Center and near the Plaza de Mayo. All eyes were turned toward Government House, where the

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 73-77.

doors were kept shut, except when officials arrived or departed in automobiles. Women and girls came out on their balconies from time to time and looked timorously first up and then down the street. Men filled the bars, nervously sipping coffee as if waiting for something to happen. There was everywhere an air of suppressed excitement.

The revolution was expected to break out at any moment. Mothers anxiously sent for their children to come home from school. Shopkeepers felt it safer to make no attempt to keep open, and many pulled down their iron shutters and went home. Business men made their plans to stay away from their offices next day. Banks decided not to open. In closing the session of the city council, José Guerrico said:

A motion to adjourn is in order. At this moment interests of the nation are at stake. There is no sense in this council's wasting time in discussing petty ordinances and resolutions. Since this is the final session, it is right for me to say a few friendly words of farewell, and to urge that each one go home quietly.

In the silence which followed the farewell speech, each one (according to one of the members) felt a lump like a question mark stick in his throat.<sup>9</sup>

For this feeling of unrest there were, in fact, sufficient grounds, since a revolution was actually being plotted. The government had information to this effect, and many citizens had heard it whispered about among the clubs and on the streets, while for nearly a year it had been talked over in the barracks and cafés as well. It was known to many that two high army officers, Lieutenant General José F. Uriburu and General Agustín P. Justo, were planning a revolt of the army supported by civilians. General Uriburu had for some time been sounding out the opinions of his friends at the Jockey Club and the *Círculo Militar*, as well as in their private homes, and had come to the conclusion that the most fertile soil for planting the seed of revolt was among the younger officers and cadets. He decided, therefore, to make

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 94.

the Military Academy his starting point, and asked other officers to spread like propaganda at the Naval Academy near Río Segundo. He and his military friends felt that the army and navy owed their loyalty to the nation, not to any particular party or party leader; therefore they would not be violating their oaths should they turn against President Irigoyen, who with his party, they believed, was ruining Argentina. The aim of the revolutionists was to save the republic by deposing Irigoyen's government by a unanimous movement. For the purpose, therefore, of organizing civilians to work effectively in coöperation with the army and navy, Uriburu formed La Liga Republicana (The Republican League) and La Legión de Mayo (The Legion of May) to foment a revolutionary spirit throughout the country and to furnish rallying points for young men of independent spirit and others who were not already bound by allegiance to certain political parties. It was, as General Uriburu later said, "not a military movement, but a vast popular movement to which the army lent its aid".<sup>10</sup>

Before Uriburu's plans for the outbreak of the revolution on August 30 were entirely completed, they were revealed to the government, which placed a guard on the Legión de Mayo and kept a close check on persons who came and went. It also, as will be remembered, put the capital in a state of defense and restricted all troops to their barracks, thus cutting communications so completely that it was impossible for the conspirators to transmit orders for concentration of the various regiments. Therefore, the date set for the revolution having been postponed, General Uriburu left the capital and hid himself in the house of a friend, awaiting the propitious moment.

In the early morning of September 6, the signal for the outbreak of the revolution was at last given by an aeroplane, manned by Lieutenants Cairo and Vélez, leaving the army air base at El Palomar and flying over the city to the warships in the harbor, dropping in its flight thousands of printed leaflets

<sup>10</sup> *La Palabra del Gral. Uriburu*, pp. 24-25, 28, 40.

which contained a proclamation, signed by Uriburu, to the effect that

the army and navy responding to the unanimous clamor of the people of the nation would aid the citizens in forcing the government to resign. Now was the time to act! These men . . . have betrayed the confidence of the people. . . . Let us notify them that we shall no longer tolerate them. . . . To arms! Let us save our institutions and the dignity of the nation.<sup>11</sup>

The first plane was shortly followed by a squadron which circled threateningly over Government House. Now even those who did not see the handbills, but heard the planes from afar, realized that they were listening to the signal for the revolution, for all citizens knew that army aeroplanes were forbidden to fly over the city.

Joyful residents rushed to their *azoteas* (house tops), cheering and waving their handkerchiefs. Men, women, and children crowded into Plaza Mayo and into the entrance to the subway station; laborers on their way to work forgot their destinations and joined the cheering throng; the mass of people waited expectantly for something to happen; mounted police fired in the air and charged to disperse the crowd. A young man, bare-headed and carrying a revolver in his hand, was shot down when he cheered for the revolution and liberty; but all day long crowds continued to gather on the Avenida de Mayo and other important streets, loitering and looking, as though awaiting the time for an expected parade to arrive. As many of the shops had their shutters down and business was at a standstill, the city gave the appearance of celebrating a holiday.

Shortly before the signal for the revolution had been sent over the city, civilian organizers of the movement, various national legislators representing the principal opposition parties, had driven out of the city for the suburb of Morón and at six o'clock in the morning had assembled at the home of Dr. Manuel A. Fresco, Jr., deputy for Buenos Aires Prov-

<sup>11</sup> *La Prensa*, September 7, 1930; Uriburu's portfolio of manifestoes.

ince, where they were assigned to groups to go to the garrisons at Campo de Mayo, Liniers, and El Palomar to arrange with the respective commanding officers to lead their troops into the revolutionary column.

The air corps at El Palomar was the first to join the movement. At half past four that morning, Captain Rosales had gone through the dormitories of the officers, who already knew of the plan, telling them to be ready to fly as soon as they received the signal. Then when the civilian delegates arrived, Lieutenant Colonel Pissano, Chief of the Base, and other officers not in the plot, were arrested by the conspirators and the siren was sounded to signal to the squadron to start its flight to the city. Conscripts of the School of Aviation marched to the School of Communications, which was already pledged to the movement, and both groups were formed into a unit under Lieutenant Colonel Rocco, director of the School of Communications, ready to join the revolution, while Lieutenant Sustaita was sent to get final instructions from General Uriburu.

At Campo de Mayo there was much uncertainty. On arrival there, the civilian delegates were arrested by the officer of the guard and taken to headquarters, where they revealed their plans to the commanding officer, General Elías Alvarez, who after telephoning to General Uriburu, consented to join the movement. He then invited his officers to take the oath of adhesion, but as they showed indecision, many of them were detained in groups under guard of sentinels. One of these officers, Lieutenant Colonel Florencio Campo, dashed away and was fired at by the guard, but was not hit. By this time the aviators were circling over the garrison dropping their proclamations, and one of them, flying too low, struck some trees near the barracks of the 2nd Artillery and crashed. The pilot, Captain Claudio H. Rosales, and his mechanic, Leopoldo Atenzo, were killed, and thus became the first martyrs of the revolution. Such was the irresolution among the commanding officers of the various organizations, and so much delay was caused thereby, that few of the troops left Campo de Mayo

that day in time to be of use either in joining or in suppressing the revolution.

Meanwhile, numbers of armed civilians, organized by the Legión de Mayo, had gathered to take part in the uprising against the government, according to the plan for them to assemble in three groups and join the revolutionary column at strategic points as it marched by. One of these groups was to enter the column at the Spanish Monument, as it passed along Alvear Avenue near Palermo Park; the second was to assemble at Plaza de Flores; and the third was to meet its leader, Dr. Alberto Viñas, at the left platform of the "Belgrano R." station of the Central Argentine Railway, to act as escort to General Uriburu. Four hundred members of the Legion and various university students assembled at the rendezvous, and waited at the railway station, but the unusual traffic jam attracted the police, who arrested the occupants of many of these cars, after having searched them for arms, sending some seventy of the members to police headquarters and keeping them in jail all day. Owing to the change in his plans, General Uriburu was unable to reach the Belgrano rendezvous, so that finally Dr. Viñas could oppose the inquisitiveness of the police no longer, and at 7:15 led his train of forty automobiles direct to the Military Academy at San Martín. On their way, the police stations in San Martín as well as station No. 39 were attacked and seized by youths of the Federation of Universities who occupied several of the cars.

Reveille at the Military Academy had been sounded at six o'clock and the cadets were in formation at seven A.M. Half an hour later General Uriburu himself arrived, with his aides, Lieutenant Colonels Molina and Kinkelin. They were met by Colonel Reynolds, the director of the institute, who was answered with cheers when he addressed the cadets and asked them to join the revolution. So great was the enthusiasm of the cadets that two of them, who were on sick report and certified by the doctor as being too weak to drill, begged per-

mission of Colonel Reynolds to be allowed to join. Having been refused on general principles, they appealed to Uriburu who, in agreement with Colonel Reynolds, arranged to send them along in motorcycle side-cars.

General Uriburu, who was now in communication by telephone with headquarters at Campo de Mayo, decided not to wait for the arrival of the troops from there, but to send the cadets into the city in advance. Upon the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Rocco from the School of Communications, his men were incorporated in the column, which now consisted of the cadets of the Military Academy, troops from the air base at El Palomar, 800 men from the School of Communications, and the Legión de Mayo, university students, and armed civilians in automobiles. By Uriburu's orders his aides then dispatched the following telegram to Vice President Martínez:

At this moment I am marching on the capital at the head of troops of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Divisions of the army. On my arrival I hope to find the resignation of yourself as well as that of the titular President. I shall hold you responsible for any blood which may be shed in defending a government unanimously repudiated by public opinion.<sup>12</sup>

As the cadets marched out of the Military Academy at 10:15 A.M. they were hailed by the onlookers with the most enthusiastic greeting they had ever received, while the public on both sides of the street acclaimed them amid scenes of indescribable patriotism. Parents of cadets, waiting among the spectators, called out to their sons, proudly exhorting them to defend the cause of their fatherland, and finally an enormous and steadily increasing multitude followed their march, singing patriotic songs and waving the white and blue flag of the nation.

For a while, General Uriburu remained at the Military Academy to keep in touch with Campo de Mayo. The first troops to arrive from the Campo de Mayo were three squadrons of the 1st Cavalry (the fourth squadron was not at

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Beresford Crawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 100; *La Prensa*, September 7, 1930.

Campo de Mayo, but was in the Territory of Neuquén, stationed at Las Lajas) which, under the leadership of the senior captain, Arturo A. Saavedra, had revolted against their field officers and had decided to join the revolution. Captain Saavedra had marched to San Martín and reached the Military Academy about midday. After they had eaten their noon meal and rested their horses, he and his troops left to join the cadets. General Uriburu, with his staff, accompanied these squadrons, leaving the Military Academy at 12:15 P.M. By the time he had overtaken the cadets, he received word that two batteries were guarding Plaza Italia and that the 1st and 2nd Infantry had been posted at Palermo along the viaducts of the Central Argentine and the Pacific Railways to oppose his advance along Alvear Avenue toward the Spanish Monument. General Uriburu, therefore, gave orders to change the route of march to outflank these defenses by sending his whole column from "Belgrano R." station along Zapiola, Rivera, Córdoba, and Callao Streets to Avenida de Mayo, and thence through the center of the city directly to Plaza Mayo and Government House.

At the Spanish Monument, where it had been understood the civilian organizations were to join the troops, crowds had been gathering since early dawn. Toward noon, 500 soldiers and civilians arrived in automobiles as did a number of members of the Legión de Mayo, who kept up continuous cheering and waving of national flags, until General Agustín P. Justo arrived at 1 o'clock with word that the revolution was succeeding, but that the route of march had been changed to Rivera Street. The crowd, which had until then resisted the demands of the police to disperse, at last broke up and hastened toward the center of the city.

Later in the afternoon, however, Plaza Italia and Alvear Avenue from the vicinity of the Spanish Monument toward the center of the city and Government House, resounded to the tramp of marching troops, for the 8th Cavalry and 1st Artillery from the Ciudadela, a short distance outside of the

city, and the 3rd Infantry, from its barracks near the Arsenal on Garay Street, were marching under orders to support the 1st and 2nd Infantry against the revolutionists, when they were surrounded by hostile crowds crying "Shoot the Cossacks". The men, already in sympathy with the revolution, called out that they were going to support it, and then continued their march with the intention of aiding the cadets against the other government troops. The officers of the Mounted Grenadiers also, when they heard of the success of the revolution and the enthusiasm of the people, deposed their colonel, who was loyal to Irigoyen. Some then followed Lieutenant Colonel Pelessón, of the Superior School of War, to Alvear Avenue and thence toward Government House, while others joined Major Amaya, who was leading one hundred and fifty officers from the Superior School of War to report to Uriburu's column.

Meanwhile, there had been dissension in the regiments which had been assigned to hold the railway viaducts over Alvear Avenue against the expected advance of the revolutionary troops. These regiments having been showered with proclamations from the aeroplanes, the spirit of the men had become such that it is probable they would have refused to fire on the cadets or the people. The officers of the 1st Infantry remained loyal to the government until the last moment, but Lieutenant Colonel Molina y Alsogaray with eleven lieutenants and sub-lieutenants of the 2nd Infantry left the barracks of their regiment at reveille, and in a small caravan of automobiles drove to San Martín to join the revolution. This caravan also included the guard of the Central Military Hospital, which consisted of twenty-six men under Sub-lieutenant Adolf López, 2nd Infantry, who had seized an ambulance and a camion and had joined the other revolting officers of the 2nd Infantry at Colegiales station.

It will be remembered that all was confusion and uncertainty among the regiments quartered at Campo de Mayo. Most of the junior officers and men there were pledged to

the revolution, while the field and commanding officers deemed it their duty to remain loyal to the president. The latter officers, therefore, formed their regiments shortly after breakfast and awaited orders from the government, while those officers who sympathised with the revolution tried by every means in their power to aid the revolutionists. The commanding general of the garrison, General Elías Álvarez decided during the morning to pledge himself to the revolution and called into conference all commanding officers of regiments. At first, he told ex-deputy Federico Pinedo, who led the party of civilian conspirators which had come to ask his help for the revolution, that he thought the government could maintain itself, but it was no business of the army either to create or to destroy governments. General Álvarez had ordered his troops to form in readiness to march to the city, but later he countermanded this order and when Colonel Álvarez of the 4th Infantry urged the general to turn over the command to him, since he was determined to defend the government, General Álvarez did so and then left for the city.

How the 1st Cavalry revolted under Captain Saavedra has already been related. Exactly what else happened and what officers and men individually threw in their lot with Uriburu is not clear, but it is certain that the neutrality of the higher officers, which held their regiments inactive at Campo de Mayo all day, and their failure to defend the government contributed materially to the success of the revolution.

In the 2nd Artillery, thirteen lieutenants were pledged to the revolution but were uncertain when it would break out. At 9 A.M., this regiment was ordered to be ready to march to Buenos Aires, but two hours later Colonel Campos directed it to return to barracks. The pledged officers obeyed because they had no definite instructions and were surrounded by other regiments which had orders to fire upon them unless they obeyed. About this time an aeroplane, flying low, dropped a note saying "March toward San Martín. Receive orders en route. Sgd. Claudio H. Rosales".<sup>13</sup> A moment later, the aeroplane crashed and Captain Rosales was killed.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in *Al Margen de la Conspiración*, pp. 217-219.

The 6th Infantry, which was stationed in the city of Mercedes, was held in barracks nearly all day, since Colonel Massón and Major Videla who had secretly joined the conspiracy failed to take action. When news of the outbreak of the revolution in Buenos Aires was received, students of the National College and others paraded the streets shouting vivas for the fatherland. All looked toward the barracks of the 6th Infantry, but saw no signs of movement there until nearly 3:30 P.M., when an aeroplane flown by Lieutenant Ruiz brought orders from Uriburu, "Leave at once with 400 men for the capital".<sup>14</sup> Thereupon, Colonel Massón marched that number of men from his regiment to the station of the Western Railway and seized a number of cars, which, with the aid of civilians, he made up into a train. This train, however, proceeded so cautiously toward Buenos Aires that it did not arrive at the terminus at Plaza Once until 4 A.M. next day. Colonel Massón, thereupon, marched his regiment toward Government House, but on arrival there, learned that the revolution had already been successful and that the 6th Infantry was too late either to help or to hinder.

At La Plata, the 7th Infantry had orders to proceed to Buenos Aires to support the government. It was formed at the barracks, but as most of its officers were compromised in the revolution, it did not march. A woman who had gone to see her conscript son, learning that he might soon be engaged in bloodshed, had a case of nerves and fainted. The summoning of an ambulance from the first aid hospital started a rumor that fighting had occurred between two factions in the regiment. Delegations of students appealed to the commanding officer not to go to Buenos Aires to help suppress the revolution. Lieutenant Colonel Irusta assured them that he would continue to await the course of events, and consequently the regiment remained quiescent during the whole day. Next morning, when the commanding officer received orders from Uriburu, he replied that he would obey the new government—a reply which was received with enthusiasm by the officers and men of the regiment.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 292-295.

As has been seen from the foregoing, very few organizations of troops actually took part in the march through the city under General Uriburu. Several of the regiments which joined the revolution as a body, arrived too late to render assistance; others made their way toward Government House by independent routes, only to find the revolutionists already occupying that edifice; and many officers and men who decided to throw in their lot with the revolution, in spite of the fact that their organizations did not do so, managed to take part in the procession only as passengers in private automobiles of civilians who gladly took them in.

The procession itself soon lost all military character. The cadets of the military academy were garlanded with flowers, or left the ranks to receive cigarettes from the hands of pretty girls. Mothers, fathers, and friends helped them to carry their equipment. Men, women, and boys, waving flags and cheering, crowded into the ranks breaking up all semblance of a proper formation. In the midst of the pedestrians, hundreds of automobiles, sometimes two abreast, rolled slowly along, blocking all other traffic, even policemen being swept either willingly or unwillingly into the column. General Justo tried to keep his car abreast of that in which rode General Uriburu, while the latter, although commanding the column, was unable to head it, for he was so surrounded by other cars and milling crowds of shouting civilians that he was cut off completely from his marching troops. As he, himself, said:

The entrance of the people and troops in Rivera and Córdoba Streets was a veritable delirium. It was a whole population in a magnificent civic procession.<sup>15</sup>

Photographs published in the newspapers of the next few days and verbal descriptions by people who watched the revolution indicate a scene much like that which takes place along Broadway and at Times Square on an election night or on New Year's Eve. The crowd was just as jubilant and happy, singing, shouting, cheering, pushing, and taking everything

<sup>15</sup> *La Palabra del Gral. Uriburu*, p. 31.

good-naturedly. Such was the revolution for the greater part of its invasion of the city, and until after the government had deserted Government House, leaving a white flag flying above its roof.

Suddenly, at about 5:30 P.M., as the procession neared the Plaza del Congreso, this scene of jubilation was changed. Shots were fired on the paraders from several directions. The cadets deployed like veterans, seized the Monument of the Two Congresses in the center of the plaza, unlimbered their guns there, and then attacked the points from which most of the firing seemed to come. Although exposed to rifle and machine gun fire from the capitol building, from the Molino restaurant, from Hotel Mar del Plata, and from the roofs of houses on Córdoba and Callao Streets as far as the office of the waterworks, the buildings of the faculty of Medicine and the Clinical Hospital, the cadets at once threw themselves flat on the ground, some of them using as breastworks the bodies of fallen horses, and later charged, driving groups of riflemen, supposed to belong to the Unión Cívica Radical from the capitol building and from the Molino restaurant. The troops from the School of Communications also supported the cadets and, helped by angry civilians, moved toward the offices of *La Época* and set fire to them, since it had been noticed that the signal for the attack had come from that point.

In half an hour all was over. Cadets Jorge Güemes Torino and Carlos Larguía lay where they had fallen pierced by bullets, and breathed their last before first aid could be administered to them. The blood of Raul Zimmerman covered the uniform of General Uriburu next to whom he was seated in his automobile. Twenty-two civilians were killed and 205 were wounded. The loss of life would have been greater had not the police cleared Plaza Congreso in advance, ostensibly to make way for the parade.

Then the exciting wail of the siren belonging to *La Prensa* was heard and fireworks were let off from other newspaper offices. Up the Avenida de Mayo dashed an automobile in

which were men cheering "Viva la Revolución triunfante"<sup>16</sup> and shouting that the ministry had abandoned their posts.

This futile ambushade was the only real attempt the government made to defend itself, for it was believed that the revolutionary column was marching into a trap, with the 1st and 2nd Infantry in its front, the troops from the Ciudadela on its flanks, the squadron of security, police, and firemen around Government House and along Avenida de Mayo, and the armed members of the Unión Cívica Radical concealed in the capitol and in the buildings from the Plaza Congreso along Callao Street to the Sanitary Department. As has been seen, however, the several organizations of the army ordered to hold these positions failed to do so, and the police were too indifferent to carry out their orders effectively. The latter did manage to sequester a considerable quantity of concealed arms and ammunition, but were unable to clear the streets and prevent the crowds from joining the revolutionary column. Most of the police commissary headquarters along the route of march were captured with little resistance by patrols sent ahead by General Uriburu. Furthermore, the chief of police, Colonel Grosso Soto, who remained at police headquarters, was so nervous and irresolute that he was unable to perfect plans or to give orders for effective action.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the government remained for the greater part of the day ignorant of what was going on, although the vice president and ministers continued in consultation at Government House, defended by guard detachments from the mounted grenadiers, sailors, and machinists from the School of Naval Mechanics, with machine guns. Dr. Martínez tried to arrange an interview with the leader of the revolution to agree on a peaceful solution and sent an army officer to ask Uriburu to come to a conference, but the latter refused, reiterating the terms of his telegram. Dr. Martínez, unwilling to accept responsibility for bloodshed, directed that the government troops should be forbidden to fire on the cadets or the people. Although by noon the vice

<sup>16</sup> *Buenos Aires Herald*, September 7, 1930.

president had made this decision not to resist even though it might involve the dissolution of his government, a council of war among his supporters planned to organize the defense of the government at the barracks of the 3rd Infantry. Then the other ministers drove away in taxicabs, leaving the vice president with only two or three friends to hold Government House. On arrival at the barracks, it was found that the 3rd Infantry refused to fire on the people, so by 1:30 P.M. the defense was transferred to the adjacent arsenal, and officers were sent out in motor side-cars to clear Plaza Mayo and Avenida de Mayo. In assisting in the carrying out of these orders, the police were forced to fire on the crowd, which hooted them and called them assassins. At a council of war held in the arsenal, General Toranzo proposed to go to Campo de Mayo to organize the defense, but General Elías Álvarez reported that he had turned over the command of that station to Colonel Alvarez, who was faithful to the government and was prepared to march on the capital to overcome the revolution. It was, however, not known at the time that these troops would not oppose the revolutionists.

Two minutes before 5 o'clock, to the anxious watchers in the Government House, there suddenly appeared an automobile filled with armed civilians, which came dashing down Avenida de Mayo. As a white flag fluttered to the top of the staff on Government House the crowd swarmed in past the guards whose commander refused to order them to fire on the people. Then it was that the newspapers had announced the fall of the government with fireworks and sirens, while the people went wild with joy.

Within half an hour, General Justo, who had entered Government House and finding the vice president in the grand banquet hall with the minister of public works, and a small group of naval officers and political friends, demanded the resignation of the former. Dr. Martínez asked for five minutes in which to think it over. "There is only one solution, you must resign immediately", replied the general.<sup>17</sup> Dr. Martínez,

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, September 8, 1930; *La Nación*, September 7, 1930.

becoming excited, tried to seize the revolver of a friend in order to commit suicide, and shouted that he had been sold, and that they could shoot him before he would resign. When, however, he had been restrained and had been told that the Central Police Station had surrendered without resistance and that the arsenal would be bombarded, he called for paper, wrote out his resignation, and handed it to General Uriburu, who had assured him that he would not be made a martyr. Also to avoid bloodshed, Dr. Martínez signed a request to the commanding officer of the arsenal to cease resistance, and when this was surrendered to General Justo, Dr. Martínez was furnished with a personal guard and allowed to go.

Since this was the end of resistance by the government, it was unnecessary to carry out the plan prepared by the revolutionists, namely, that 1,000 members of the fire department, which occupied a building adjacent to central police headquarters, should invade the latter building through an inner door. The police showed no intention of resisting, and when telephoned from Government House, now in the hands of General Uriburu, agreed to acknowledge the revolutionary government and to accept Vice Admiral Hermelo as their new chief. The firemen, instead, having decorated their apparatus with flags, joined the celebrating throngs. By this time the two squadrons of mounted grenadiers who had joined the revolution under Lieutenant Colonel Pelessón had arrived via Leandro N. Alem Avenue, and had taken over the guard of Government House, while Captain Saavedra, with his squadrons of the 1st Cavalry, had arrived by the same route.

In general, the officers and crews of the ships of the 2nd and 3rd Divisions of the navy, then in port, had been favorable to the revolution. When the signal was given by the flight of the aeroplanes over them, ships were prepared for action and crews were held aboard, awaiting orders from Uriburu. When their message "We shall refuse to fire upon our fellow countrymen"<sup>18</sup> was sent to the Martínez government, the minister of marine ordered several of the commanding officers of

<sup>18</sup> *Buenos Aires Herald*, September 7, 1930.

ships placed under arrest. Although the other officers and men were keen to take an active part in the revolution, they were constrained to remain all day at the naval arsenal, for those were the orders sent them by Uriburu. At the naval air base of Punta del Indio, the officers approved of the revolutionary movement, and those in charge of the wireless station delayed transmission of the government's orders to attack the army aviators, until the navy planes could be temporarily disabled by those whose duty it would be to fly them. The cadets of the Naval Academy were enthusiastic supporters of the revolution, and were jealous of their confreres at the Military Academy, because Río Segundo, where their own academy was located, was too far away from Buenos Aires for them to be able to participate.

In the capital, all public buildings were illuminated from sunset until well past midnight. The populace spent most of the night in the streets rejoicing. Much of the celebration consisted in singing, cheering, and shouting vivas for Uriburu, for the revolution, and for "*la patria*". However, as was natural on such an occasion when police supervision was relaxed, there was more or less lawlessness, with reckless firing by armed hoodlums during this night of rejoicing which resulted in fifteen killed and 198 wounded. The mob vented its hate by attacking the national headquarters of the radical personalist party in the Hotel Mundial and in burning the offices of the administration newspapers *La Época*, and *La Calle*. It also swarmed into Brazil Street and took possession of Irigoyen's apartments, from which he had fled shortly before, and from which the guards had been withdrawn. His furniture, books, and papers were thrown from windows and balconies into the street, where they were piled and made into a bonfire. The same treatment was accorded to the home across the street of Irigoyen's bootblack friend, Vicente Scarlato. A few took advantage of the opportunity to appropriate to their own use bottles of wine and other convenient souvenirs, but the majority of the crowd protested "We have

come to punish, not to rob. To the fire with everything. Don't take anything away''.<sup>19</sup> The house of one of the most unpopular ministers, Dr. Horacio Oyhanarte, at 440 Florida St., was sacked in similar manner. The presidential chair was carried triumphantly about Plaza de Mayo and was finally burned.

Half an hour before the flag of surrender had been raised on Government House, Irigoyen, accompanied by his secretary and Scarlato had hastily left Brazil Street in a private auto, and had sped toward the city of La Plata. On arrival there he sought shelter in the home of Governor Corveito of the Province of Buenos Aires. It had been planned that Irigoyen should make his escape from the country on a destroyer, but he seemed to be too weak and exhausted to continue the trip to Río Segundo, and was instead taken to the barracks of the 7th Infantry to receive medical attention from the army surgeons. The commanding officer, however, refused to grant asylum unless Irigoyen should first resign. The poor old man, who had been rushed by night from a sick bed to escape from the anger of his people, was so discouraged, weak, and exhausted that he was ready to do anything to obtain a rest and be left alone. With trembling hand he signed his resignation, which was at once sent to the capital, reaching Uriburu by midnight. Orders were transmitted by the new minister of the interior to the commanding officer of the 7th Infantry at La Plata to furnish Irigoyen every facility for obtaining medical assistance and other comforts and requisites for restoring his health, and at his own request, the former president was made comfortable in a private room in the officers' club of the 7th Infantry.

No sooner had Uriburu taken possession of Government House than he set about the organization of a new government and the consolidation of the revolution throughout the republic. The command of the police and the administration of the city were at once taken over; proclamations assuming control of the government were sent to the newspapers for

<sup>19</sup> Beresford Crawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

publication, and copies were posted by the police on walls and houses throughout the city. In these proclamations Uriburu promised that his government would be provisional during the emergency, and that a constitutional government would be established as soon as practicable. By 7 o'clock that evening the names of those comprising the provisional government were given out. Enrique Santamarina was named vice president, Dr. Matias G. Sánchez Sorondo, minister of the interior, and General Francisco P. Medina, minister of war, while General Agustín P. Justo was appointed commander in chief of the army instead of being given a cabinet position.

During the afternoon, all military telegraph offices had transmitted to the remotest part of the country the words "stormy weather", the code signal announcing the triumph of the revolution. Thereupon, the generals commanding the troops in nearly all of the provincial capitals, took possession of the local governments, dissolved the legislatures, and accepted the resignations of the civil governors or else drove them out, police headquarters, telegraphs, and newspapers being taken over. Students and the populace generally supported the change of government. In a few cases, when governors and other provincial officials, ignorant of events, telegraphed to Irigoyen's government for information, they either received no answer or were told that all was quiet in the capital. Shortly after the new federal government had taken control, there had already been established a provisional military government in eleven of the provinces. In the provinces of Entre Ríos and San Luís, the former governors telegraphed their promises to maintain order, and were allowed to retain their offices. In Catamarca, no new designation for governor was made, although Colonel Arturo Charro, 17th Infantry, was retained as interventor. The movement carried out at the capital, spread by telegraph almost instantaneously throughout the republic.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Buenos Aires Herald*, September 8, 1930; *La Prensa*, September 8, 1930; *La Nación*, September 8, 1930; *Al Margen*, p. 233; Beresford Crawkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

In spite of the multitude of details which had to be settled at once, Uriburu found time to visit the wounded in the hospitals. Upon his return to Government House, he received the manager of the Banco de la Nación, who told him that the deposed government had borrowed so heavily from the bank that unless Uriburu should decree next Monday as a holiday, the bank could not keep open for an hour.<sup>21</sup> Monday, September 8, was therefore declared a holiday ostensibly for the purpose of inaugurating the new government.

That afternoon, on the balconies of Government House, Uriburu took the oath as provisional president and the new ministers took the prescribed oaths of office for their posts. The crowd witnessing the ceremony was the largest ever known in the history of Plaza Mayo. It overflowed the plaza into adjacent streets and upon roofs and balconies, many persons even climbing to the tops of water tanks on the roofs. So dense was the crowd in the streets that automobiles were useless, and the progress of the parade was greatly delayed. That the people were solidly behind the new government was shown that night when a cleverly planned attempt at counter-revolution proved a failure.

The review had ended and the troops were returning to their respective barracks, when automobiles, containing excited groups of men calling vivas for the radicals, dashed about the streets of the suburbs shouting that a counter-revolution had broken out, that regiments loyal to the former government had attacked the cadets on their march home, and that the arsenal had been seized, while the same report was telephoned from police commissaries to central police headquarters. So persistent were these calls that the regiments as they arrived at their barracks, were ordered out again, some to protect the Military Academy, and others to the Center to guard government buildings there.

Meanwhile, one of the shouting radical groups had dashed by Government House to the adjacent corner, where its car paused for a moment before the post-office, and where it either

<sup>21</sup> *La Palabra del Gral. Uriburu*, p. 48.

fired revolver shots at the post-office guard or was fired at from there. At any rate, the firing continued from both sides and from a nearby building in Leandro N. Alem Avenue. Someone telephoned to the post-office that the guard at Government House had revolted, and simultaneously someone else telephoned Government House that the post-office was in the hands of counter-revolutionists. Consequently, the post office guards were directed to fire at the government guards, and the latter replied with volleys.

While this skirmish was going on between the guards at Government House and those at the post-office, two field batteries which had reached Plaza Colón, began firing at the post-office. Rumors soon spread through the cafés and elsewhere that the fleet had revolted and was bombarding, and that Government House was in flames. From every direction men rushed to the defense of the provisional government, breaking into hardware and arms shops to secure arms and ammunition. Some demanded rifles at the arsenal; others reported to the palace of congress and took their posts in the skirmish line to aid the regular troops in the defense of that building; while thousands, hastening to defend the provisional government, filled Plaza Mayo in front of Government House, increasing the fear in that building that it was about to be attacked. Excited young men dashed about the streets in automobiles, looking for radicals whom they might shoot down, and firing their revolvers aimlessly in the air. When the excitement was at its height, General Justo took command of the defense of Government House and ordered its guards to cease firing until he could investigate. This resulted in a slackening of fire from the post-office and its total cessation within half an hour.

Strange as it may seem, while messages dictated by the counter-revolutionists to stir up excitement, readily passed over the wires of the telephone system, the government experienced great difficulty and often impossibility in transmitting orders to its subordinates or in receiving reports from

them. As part of their plot, the counter-revolutionists had tried to involve the navy, and telephone calls were sent to the ships in the New Port that Government House had been captured. A scout ship was sent to investigate, with orders to fire on Government House if the report was found to be true, but fortunately this ship was stopped at the military zone of the North Basin, as a matter of routine, because it failed to show the required lights. Five shrapnel from the firing on shore fell among the ships, one of them wounding a sailor on the *Rosario*, and one wounding a corporal on the destroyer *Mendoza*. The *Asistencia Pública* later reported that they had cared for the injuries of ten naval cadets and conscripts as well as of thirty-one civilians. At the naval arsenal officers of the ships and of the naval school were at dinner celebrating the inauguration, when a conscript rushed in with a report that the army had revolted and was firing at Government House. Immediately, naval cadets were posted on the *azoteas* and at doorways to defend the arsenal, and crews on the roofs of warehouses to protect the docks and ships. Arms were also issued by order of the minister of marine to civilian young men who were asking permission to help the defense.

Meanwhile, alarmist calls were sent to various parts of the country. At Bahía Blanca rumors of the counter-revolution encouraged an attack on the municipality, which was promptly stopped by the military authorities. At La Plata, the 7th Infantry headquarters was informed that marines from the naval base were advancing to attack its barracks, while at the same time the naval base was notified that the 7th Infantry had joined the counter-revolution. The commanding officers of both organizations immediately took measures for defense and wisely awaited events, while automobiles occupied by civilians dashed by shouting vivas for the radical party and Irigoyen. Some of them demanded admission to the quarters of Irigoyen, but these were held back by the guards, for orders had earlier been received to place the ex-president in arrest and hold him incommunicado. Before midnight, how-

ever, *La Prensa* had managed to send dispatches throughout the nation explaining the situation and calming fears of counter-revolution.

In Buenos Aires, Major Pistarino rode in his automobile to inform all regiments about the exact situation and to tell them that the whole trouble had been caused by false rumors. Lieutenant Colonel Eduardo Noya, commanding the 10th Infantry, which had recently arrived from Entre Ríos, was marching toward the Center when he received a note explaining events. He thereupon marched his regiment back toward its temporary quarters in the pavilions of the Rural Society at Palermo, but when he arrived at Plaza Italia, he halted and ordered the band to play the national hymn. The crowds of people who had been following the regiment cheering the "Patria" and the Revolution, now stood bareheaded and sang the hymn. Then they quietly dispersed to their homes, obeying General Justo, who standing in an open touring car, drove along the main thoroughfares, calling out to the populace to "give a cheer for the new régime, and then go happily off to bed."<sup>22</sup>

Elsewhere, however, since the police had been recalled from their posts to defend their commissaries, the crowd had the streets to themselves and spent a wild night firing recklessly in the air to celebrate the victory of the government over the counter-revolutionists, while radical sympathisers likewise contributed to the excitement by shooting at the celebrants. In some unoccupied apartments over a hardware shop on Congallo Street, between Florida and San Martín Streets, they kept sniping at civilians and military persons passing in automobiles, until troops were sent to drive them out, whereupon in the exchange of shots, two soldiers were wounded. To quiet these disturbances, two proclamations were issued ordering all arms and machine guns to be turned in to the arsenal, and threatening heavy penalties for any person showing weapons in public. The chief of police ordered the closing of all radical committees in the capital and the registration of

<sup>22</sup> *Buenos Aires Herald*, September 9, 1930.

arms sequestered, yet at dawn people were still dashing around in all sorts of vehicles cheering the revolution. In its edition of September 9, *La Nación* in an editorial said

The events of last night were the result of a plan of organized mischief to terrorize people and confuse the public. It has proved that no such attempt to overthrow the government can succeed.<sup>23</sup>

While this attempt at counter-revolution accomplished nothing except to prove the loyalty of the people to the new government, that government, moreover, was able to show the confidence which it inspired not only at home, but throughout the world. National and foreign banks doing business in Buenos Aires vied with each other in offering to the provisional government whatever funds might be found necessary for carrying on the business of the state. An editorial in *La Nación* of September 9 said:

The best demonstration of this [confidence] which exists in the city and which reflects the impression of the movement in banking circles, bourses, and commercial houses . . . is the rise in the value of our money.

On September 8, the exchange value of the peso in New York was quoted at 36.25, an advance of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of 1 per cent, and in London at 4 shillings, a rise of 5 per cent. That certainly did not indicate the fear that Argentina had fallen into the hands of reckless or irresponsible revolutionists. Apparently the event was looked upon as a change of the party in power such as might occur when a European ministry receives a vote of lack of confidence, or as when in the United States, the people by their votes oust the party with whose administration they are discontented and put into office the opposition party, as was done in the national election of 1932.<sup>24</sup>

Naturally, there were many members and adherents of the

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Beresford Crawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193; *La Nación*, September 9, 1930; *La Prensa*, September 9, 1930; *Buenos Aires Herald*, September 10, 1930.

radical party who opposed any change, and there were many who favored the policies of Irigoyen. That his memory is still loved and revered was shown as recently as 1933 when enormous crowds of his admirers followed his body to its grave. Yet a study of contemporary accounts cannot fail to convince one that the so-called revolution of 1930 was the movement of a whole people and not a barrack revolt or a *coup d'état* by a self-seeking politician. General Uriburu promised for himself and for the vice president to turn over to the people the provisional government as soon as this could safely be done, and asserted that neither of them would accept candidacy for the constitutional presidency or vice presidency. This promise he kept by providing for new elections on November 8, 1931, when General Augustín P. Justo was elected president and Dr. Roca, vice president.

Writing of the scenes at his inauguration on September 7, General Uriburu said:

This day was one of patriotic delirium in the capital. The populace spontaneously filled the avenues to Plaza Mayo. One may say the entire population was there. It is impossible to calculate the number of people who listened. It was a whole people.<sup>25</sup>

At another time he told an interviewer:

The revolution was carried out in the interior of the country practically by telegraph in a few hours. This proves that the prestige of the revolution was assured.<sup>26</sup>

It might be argued that General Uriburu was not an impartial witness, and that his remarks should be heavily discounted. Admitting this to be a valid criticism, it is interesting to read the following extracts from editorials in *La Prensa* of September 7 and 8, 1930:

The overthrow of the personalist system was the work of national opinion, spontaneous and vigorous. This shows that the country has

<sup>25</sup> *La Palabra del Gral. Uriburu*, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> J. M. Espigares Moreno, *Lo que me dijo el Gral. Uriburu*, p. 76.

arrived at civic virtue when it opposes oppression, and demands order, respect for institutions, and equality before the law.<sup>27</sup>

The pronunciamiento of the 6th of September was not a mutiny, nor a military revolution, but the irresistible manifestation of a people that was carried to an extreme which it desired to avoid, but which was rendered inevitable unless it wished to continue living under a powerful régime or system of government which was totally subverting democracy and the constitutional juridical régime. . . . The entire people without distinction of social classes accompanied the young men of the university and the army. These young men did not wear any personal or party emblem, but only that of the fatherland and the constitution as their ideal, and they conducted themselves more like manifestants than revolutionists.<sup>28</sup>

Another impartial witness of the events of September 6 was the French writer, Benjamin Cremieux, who says:

I have been present at the strangest spectacle in the world. I have seen a people go singing to make revolution. I have seen soldiers laughing as they marched. I have likewise seen joy and good humor not only in men and soldiers, but also in children and women. Even when shortly many were to fall by bullets, I have seen them go singing, calling out joyfully, and joking. Its characteristic was the help given by a whole people to the forces which marched. A multitude of citizens filled the columns.<sup>29</sup>

Finally here is a telegram sent to the Rotary International from the Rotary Club of Buenos Aires, meeting at a dinner on September 8, 1930:

The Rotary Club of Buenos Aires announces that the Argentine people has lived for three quarters of a century according to its constitution, and that it has just driven out a government in order to save this constitution. The pronouncement of September 6 was not a military mutiny, but the just action of a people made into an army and of an army made into a people to reestablish its constitutional régime. There was no need of fighting, and normality was reestablished in a few hours. The Argentine people carried out a revolution

<sup>27</sup> *La Prensa*, September 7, 1930.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, September 8, 1930.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in *Al Margen*, p. 359.

like those which are the pride of France, England, Germany, Italy, and Belgium. The Argentine people follows its initial rhythm of 1810 toward progress, perfected democracy, and international cordiality. It has just overturned an obstacle which it encountered in its way. That is all. We shall appreciate it if you transmit this message to the other clubs of your country, in order that it may be spread abroad by Rotarian journalists in your country.<sup>30</sup>

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Washington, Connecticut.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 410.

## THE RÔLE OF THE SOUTH SEA COMPANY IN THE DIPLOMACY LEADING TO THE WAR OF JENKINS' EAR, 1729-1739

I perceive that my masters of the South Sea Company now and then favor your office with a memorial, if you really knew the pains and uneasiness of that commission, in which I have never once satisfied them, you would pity me. What was formerly Spanish slowness is now Mr. Keene's want of activity or some other qualification much more valuable but, could I separate my duty from my interest, and only act on the principles of the latter, I assure you I would not solicit another Cedula for the venture of an annual ship. For God's sake, Dear Sir, be so good to throw in a kind word for me when those clamours begin to rise, you see by the papers I send you how heartily I espouse their, and the Cause of the rest of the Commerce. I ever dwell too long upon this for the time which Sr. Patiño's business can allow me to stay with him, and I must leave you to judge whether I can get much out of him with regard to the affairs when I am continually at him about a Mahan Boat. People's Hearts are never open but when they are in a good humour.<sup>1</sup>

So wrote Benjamin Keene, British Minister to the Court of Spain, after nine months of trying to arrange the company's affairs following the Treaty of Seville and the resumption of relations between the two nations. He had asked for a cédula permitting the sailing of the annual ship, only to receive one quite unacceptable to the company since it contained nothing relating to remeasurement in the Indies, long a sore spot in the company's relations to Spain. The cédula was returned and, after repeated memorials on the subject, a new one was granted on August 18 and sent off to England by a special messenger. The whole affair had disgusted Keene.

The South Sea Company as a semi-official body of the British government occupied an outstanding place in the rela-

<sup>1</sup> Keene to Delafaye: Cazella, August 5, 1730 (Public Record Office, State Papers 94, Foreign, Spain, Vol. 104). Hereafter referred to as PRO, SP94.

tions between Spain and England in the two and a half decades following 1715. From the Treaty of Seville, November 9, 1729, to the beginning of the War of Jenkins' Ear in October, 1739, it was the critical factor and in itself one of the greatest causes of that war. It was involved in the disputes over illicit commerce to the Spanish colonies, as well as that over illegal seizures of vessels by the *guarda costas*, which along with the question of the Georgia frontier, were the chief points at issue leading to the rupture of relations in 1739. The company, since it was established under the provisions of an international treaty, had a public function and the support of the crown, but little or no governmental supervision or control; so it dragged the ministry into its quarrels in spite of itself. Its great influence on the course of events between 1729 and 1739 has made it seem worthwhile to isolate, as far as possible, the position of the company from the other factors during this difficult period.<sup>2</sup>

Keene was kept busy by the company's affairs, not only as British Minister, but also in his capacity as the agent of the company in Spain. He had asked for a *cédula* to prevent the same sort of disputes that had arisen before the last break in relations, only to be told that it would not be necessary. The Spanish agreed to submit the question of the company's right to have factors in Panama, to the commission, as provided in the Treaty of Seville.<sup>3</sup> In September, he renewed his applica-

<sup>2</sup> For studies of this period see: Vera Lee Brown, "The South Sea Company and Contraband Trade", in the *American Historical Review*, XXXI, 662-697; Amos A. Ettinger, *James Edward Oglethorpe, Imperial Idealist* (Oxford, 1936); John Tate Lanning, *The Diplomatic History of Georgia, A Study of the Epoch of Jenkins' Ear* (Chapel Hill, 1936); J. K. Loughton, "Jenkins' Ear", in the *English Historical Review*, IV, 741-749; Leo Francis Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament respecting North America*, IV, 1728-1739 (Washington, 1937); H. W. V. Temperley, "The Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739", in *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, third series, III, 197-237 (London, 1889); "Relations of English with Spanish America, 1720-1744", in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1911), I, 231-238; Basil Williams, "The Foreign Policy of England under Walpole", in *English Historical Review*, XV, 251-277, 479-495, 665-696; XVI, 67-84, 303-328, 439-452 (London, 1900, 1901).

<sup>3</sup> The text of the treaty will be found in Alejandro del Cantillo, *Tratados de Paz y de Comercio* (Madrid, 1843), pp. 247-254.

tion for the return of the effects seized at Cartagena. He was convinced that the crown of Spain was trying to act justly, in spite of the complaints of the ministry and the factors. By the end of the year, a number of questions had been settled. The company was denied the right to sell its goods overland to Peru on the ground that it would injure the fair at Portobelo. In response to a query over the right of the ship to sell, if late for the fair, Patiño replied that the company knew its date and had no excuse for not getting there on time. No new disagreement arose over the company's affairs, but late in the following May there was much talk of war between the two nations. Keene who had heard rumors of orders to seize British shipping, warned the consuls, merchants, and the company to be on their guard. After an inquiry by Newcastle, secretary of state for the Southern Department, Keene reported to Sir John Eyles, an important figure in the company, that the rumors were unfounded, and that Patiño had assured him that the viceroys and governors in America had special instructions not to act without specific commands from Spain.<sup>4</sup>

The company factors in the Spanish ports were the chief source of information of events there. It was they who were responsible for the clamor against Fandino, a *guarda costa* suspected of cutting off Jenkins' Ear, and other characters of the same nature. Their ire was especially aroused against Miguel Henríquez of Puerto Rico, who on October 5, 1731, broke into the factory there, with the consent of the governor, while in search of runaway slaves, and carried off a couple of Englishmen. The factor complained to Keene as well as to the home government.<sup>5</sup> This caused Newcastle to renew his instructions to have the Spanish punish both Henríquez and the governor, adding the old remark that if it were not done, force might be used. No response was received except to say

<sup>4</sup>It is difficult to follow Keene's official relations with the company as he changes from the character of agent to that of minister and back. This has resulted in the loss of correspondence, some of an official nature, which went to the company, either through Keene or the foreign office.

<sup>5</sup>Mr. Thomas Gibbon, South Sea Company Factor at Puerto Rico to Keene, October 20, 1731 (PRO, SP94, Vol. 101).

that the matter had been referred to the commission by order of the king. Complaints continued, especially against the viceroy of Peru who refused to allow any money to be taken to the fair at Portobelo. Keene was active in these interests, trying to quiet the accusations of the Spanish over illicit trade, and at the same time endeavoring to have the annual ship exempted from remeasurement in the Indies.<sup>6</sup> He also used his efforts to have the king of Spain name a new director in the company. This resulted in the appointment of Tomás Geraldino to the post.<sup>7</sup> Several other protests were made by the company, but these were overshadowed by a proposal of Sir William Tyrry, a Spanish subject, that the company give up the annual ship for an equivalent. This aroused Newcastle, who declared it was changing the Asiento Treaty, and that changes must be made through the respective foreign offices.<sup>8</sup> A short time later, the English supported the Dutch protests over the formation of the Spanish East India Company, but not too strongly, lest Spain turn on the trade in the West Indies. The complaints, however, were not all one way, for Patiño, secretary of Marina y Indias, and Hacienda, in August charged that the salaries of many Spanish officials, paid by assignments on the company, were years in arrears.<sup>9</sup> All these disputes were then lost sight of for a time in the new development in the Indies.

In midsummer, H. M. S. *Solebay* had seized the register ship *Dichosa* in reprisal of the capture of the British *Woolball*. The viceroy of New Spain, in retaliation, had seized a ship

<sup>6</sup> Keene to the Court of Directors: Seville, April 26, 1732 (*ibid.*, Vol. 111). "It is I hope needless to assure you that I lose no opportunities of setting forth the diligence of the Company, to discover any contraband trade, or to chastize the offenders, when I can get M. Patiño to talk upon this subject; but when our justifications are not naturally by some accusations on his part, they cannot fail of producing a different effect from what is intended by them".

<sup>7</sup> Geraldino was given a salary of 10,000 doblones a year, made a knight of Santiago, and a councilor of the real hacienda in order to persuade him to leave his own affairs.

<sup>8</sup> Delafaye to Keene, Whitehall, June 22-July 3, 1732 (partly in cipher, PRO, SP94, Vol. 113).

<sup>9</sup> Patiño to Keene, Seville, August 20, 1732 (*ibid.*, Vol. 114).

and all the effects of the company on which he could lay his hands at Vera Cruz. He then notified the agents that if the *Dichosa* was not restored within four months, this property would be confiscated. Negotiations on this matter, and that of the commerce in general, continued until November, when it was learned that all the excitement in the Indies had blown over owing to Commodore Lestock's having released the *Dichosa* upon his arrival at Jamaica, in the hopes that the Spanish officials would do likewise with the vessels held by them.<sup>10</sup>

The Treaty of Seville had provided for the appointment of a commission to settle the points in dispute between the two nations. Its first sitting was held February 23, 1732, and the first business meeting on March 3. Among the questions the commissioners had power to settle were those of the South Sea Company, and in the first business meeting, the Spanish demanded that the company pay the full duties on Negroes from the time of the signing of the Treaty of Seville. This the English thought just but replied that the company had great demands on the king of Spain. The Spaniards very logically pointed out that they could not be so very great if the commissioners had not yet received them.<sup>11</sup> At the next conference, the Spanish members declared that, if some settlement of the company's affairs was not made, there was no need to go on with the meetings. The matter was quieted for the time being by agreeing that the company should pay the Negro duties, but in return was to be paid for the losses suffered through the non-execution of the Asiento Contract. The British then proposed that each side hand in a complete list of the demands, with documents, to be studied by the other side, and to debate those points. The Spaniards were not satisfied and continued to demand that the company pay the duties. An accord was reached on March 27, that the accounts should be made up from January 1, 1731, to May 1, 1732, and that within four months all accounts on both sides

<sup>10</sup> Newcastle to Keene, November 29-December 10, 1732 (*ibid.*, Vol. 113).

<sup>11</sup> Commissioners to Newcastle, Seville, March 14 (*ibid.*, Vol. 106).

should be presented. The commissioners then wrote Newcastle to require the company to comply with the terms, in the interest of settling other matters.

On April 17, the Spanish presented their claims in thirty-six articles, only three of which related to Europe. Most of the demands related to the unlawful practices of the South Sea Company, and especially to the illicit traffic carried on in its ships.<sup>12</sup> The first of August was the date set for the handing in of the accounts of the company. On the 19th, the commissioners wrote Newcastle that the time for them was overdue and that the discussions might be stopped if they were not forthcoming. Stert, one of the commissioners, writing in a personal letter, intimated that the company was afraid to have Goddard, another commissioner, and himself look over the accounts, as they had not corresponded with either since the 20th of April.<sup>13</sup> The accounts were demanded by the Spaniards on September 4, but all points continued to be discussed in spite of the lack of an answer by the company. The life of the commission, as set by the treaty, was drawing to a close but both governments agreed to an extension of the time limit. The meetings continued until February, 1733, when the Spanish Court moved from Seville to Madrid, taking the Spanish representatives with it. The English commissioners soon returned home. Many of the problems confronting the two nations had been almost settled by the commission but all the benefits of its deliberations were lost owing to the break-up before it had time to embody its decisions in a

<sup>12</sup> It is from this declaration that most authors have drawn the statement that the company constantly sent vessels into the harbor to keep the annual ship supplied (Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Legajo 2366, packet 7009—hereafter referred to as AGS. with legajo and packet numbers following). A translation may be found in PRO, SP94, Vol. 131. Article 19 of the Pretensions: "Que se gradue el imponderable daño causado por el Navio 'el Príncipe Frederico', que partió para Vera-cruz en Julio de 1725, por la cargazon ilícita, que admitió a su bordo y introdujo despues en tierra, de los dos Navios que la siguieron, 'el Eptswood' y 'el Príncipe de Asturias' ". See also Arthur S. Aiton, "The Asiento Treaty as reflected in the Papers of Lord Shelburne", in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII, 174.

<sup>13</sup> Stert to Delafaye, Seville, August 19, 1732 (PRO, SP94, Vol. 106).

treaty. The commission was never considered as formally closed and in December, 1734, a proposal was made to reopen it in London, but nothing was done in the matter. The failure to settle the disputes by this method resulted in constant bickerings between England and Spain, especially over the question of the Negro duties and the other problems which grew out of it, leading directly to war in 1739.

The Spanish, in 1733, claimed that the company was breaking the Asiento Contract by carrying Spanish subjects as passengers from the Indies. Its officials denied knowledge of this but stated they were ready to coöperate with the Spanish Agent in taking the proper measures to prevent such occurrences.<sup>14</sup> In May of the next year, the matter was revived when Patiño informed Keene that Captain Mead of the *Royal Caroline* on his last voyage, in addition to carrying a Spanish passenger, had brought home articles not belonging to the company. Captain Waring of the *St. James* was accused at the same time of similar misdeeds. Punishment of the captains and indemnification of the Spanish treasury was asked. The following year the charges were answered: Captain Waring had been discharged, and Captain Mead would be prosecuted as soon as enough proof was furnished. A new protest was almost immediately made by Spain which stated that the officials of the company in America were capturing Indians and selling them into slavery in the English colonies. This was denied by Newcastle at the end of the year, upon a report of the lieutenant governor of Virginia that the Indians made poor slaves and there were few of them anywhere in the colonies.<sup>15</sup>

In the latter part of the year 1733, as a result of the failure of the commission of 1732, began the dispute between the king of Spain and the company which was to be the direct cause of the War of Jenkins' Ear. In that year, Geraldino delivered to the directors of the company a memorial on the value to be placed on the pieces of eight, with which the Negro duties

<sup>14</sup> Newcastle to Keene, Whitehall, November 12-23 (*ibid.*, Vol. 118).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, December 5-16, Vol. 124.

were paid. The company requested the assistance of the government in having the affair transferred to Madrid where Keene and Patiño could settle it. Owing to the close connection between the company and the government, Newcastle was glad to send the necessary instructions.<sup>16</sup> The following February, Geraldino presented a new memorial to the company stating that if the duty was not paid in hard pieces of eight, at the rate of four shillings sixpence each, the full duty would be collected on the whole number of Negroes. A copy of this was forwarded to Keene with instructions to prevent, if possible, any orders against the company being sent to the Indies. In spite of the interest on the part of the British government, the matter was negotiated for a time as a business understanding and not as an international question, with Keene acting for the company and Patiño for the king of Spain.<sup>17</sup> It became a thing of international interest in February, 1735, when it was announced that the Spanish monarch had decided to stop the importation of Negroes until the matter was settled. After protests by the English, Keene was ordered to try to settle the matter once and for all. He replied that he had done his utmost for the company and was sure that the king would not recede from the position he had taken unless his demands were met.<sup>18</sup> After a lengthy correspondence with Keene, Patiño, who had learned of the interposition of the English monarch, utterly changed his tactics. On August 7, he demanded the account of the *Royal Caroline*, the last annual ship, for the purpose, Keene suspected, of showing the unreliability of the company in the payment of its debts. Keene suggested that the company appoint a committee to

<sup>16</sup> Newcastle to Keene, Hampton Court, October 9-20 (*ibid.*, Vol. 118): "... all I need to add is that His Majesty would have you in this, as on all other occasions do the company all the service in your power and you will make use of the Interposition of His Majesty's name in their behalf in this case if you shall judge it to be necessary and proper".

<sup>17</sup> A full discussion of this disagreement, based on the South Sea Company's papers in the W. L. Clements Library, will be found in the unpublished dissertation of Dr. George L. Nelson at the University of Michigan.

<sup>18</sup> Keene to Newcastle, Madrid, March 22, 1735, *Most Private* (PRO, SP94, Vol. 122).

meet with Geraldino in order to make some sort of settlement, thus preventing the bitterness arising from the constant memorializing with no results. This advice was not acted upon and matters came to a standstill as neither the company nor the king was willing to concede the claims of the other without something in return.

Not only the debts, but the conduct of some of the factors in America were the subject of complaints from Spain. The action of Mr. Collet, at Caracas, was the subject of a memorial which asserted he had beaten a Catholic Negro until he died, and that he was preventing two boys, one Irish and the other Spanish, from the free exercise of the Catholic faith. The memorial demanded that Collet should be severely punished. Apparently nothing came of this. The recall of Mr. Dennis from Santiago was requested in March of the following year because he had given the inquisitor general offence in matters of religion. This was done in order to avoid trouble, but compensation was asked since he was the only representative of the company at that port. Keene then made a general representation of the rights of factors in the Indies. On June 22, Patiño replied that as Dennis had violated the regulations, the company had no right to keep him there.<sup>19</sup> The company in its turn complained at the same time. It asked through Newcastle the return of the ships *George* and *Lyon* which were held at Havana. The answer was that the ships were held because the factors at that place refused to show the governor their accounts, and while orders for restoration would be sent, all charges in connection with the affair should be at the expense of the factors. It was also made plain that the Spanish felt themselves the aggrieved party and might, with good reason, demand the recall of the factors from that port. All the grievances of the company were embodied in a memorial passed by Keene in June, to which an immediate answer was demanded. No reply seems to have been given. It must not be supposed that Keene was ignorant of the steps

<sup>19</sup> Patiño to Keene, Aranjuez, June 22, 1735 (*ibid.*).

being taken in the councils of Spain since he was well supplied with funds to buy information.<sup>20</sup>

By the early months of 1736, the dispute between the company and the king of Spain had come to an impasse, and to it were added the company's complaints that the king desired an account of the annual ship, independent of the Negro duties. The crown threatened, in case its demands in this respect were not met, to make difficulties over the granting of any new *cédulas*. One for the annual ship was soon desired and Keene wrote the court of directors on August 6 that Patiño, after several conferences, had refused a definite answer, but from the tenor of his remarks, its granting would seem to depend on the settlement of the dispute over the value of the *escudos de plata* and the profits of the last annual ship.<sup>21</sup> He believed that Montijo, Spanish minister to the British gov-

<sup>20</sup> Keene to Delafaye, Madrid, January 9, 1734 (*ibid.*, Vol. 119):

"I must desire you to break open my packet to the South Sea Company, you will find something that is not to be sent to those gentlemen, the remains you will be pleased to send to them by a safe hand, they contain several original receipts for sums I pay to the ministers and others of the Junta. You will easily conceive the reasons of my *supercherie* ways and means I think are of so sacred and tender a nature that they ought only to be divulged where all secrets are or ought to be deposited".

<sup>21</sup> Keene to Newcastle, Segovia, August 13, 1736. In cipher (*ibid.*):

"It is a long time since, that I took the liberty to trouble you with my apprehensions upon the uneasiness of their situation on both sides, and I have constantly done what lay in my power to cool this minister upon his Complaints, and efface an idea he has, that the Company trifles and Scoffs at H. C. M. If they he says, will neither Pay the Duty nor the profits of the Annual Ship, how can they pretend to ask for the continuance of their advantage and Cedula for other vessels. It is his attention for the King (he adds) that he has kept back the execution of the resolution he was *en droit* to take. I opposed to all this his manner of breaking Us upon the present points in dispute, that it is putting *le Canteau à la George* and indisposing a public Assembly more than it frightens them, that softer measures would have better effect: that let him but give me the Cedula I demand unconditionally, he would soon see how the other points would be concluded, that if he had any real design to show his attention for His Majesty, the preventing disputes upon such popular articles would be a proper way to do it. I pressed him so earnestly on this head that he gave me leave to write to Your Grace, that the Company should be contented, without explaining himself any farther, but as I know to how much Canvassing an expression of this nature is liable in a public Assembly, and that it might have been dropped only to get rid of my importunities I did not write it to the Directors".

ernment, had stirred up Patiño against the company because of its refusal to honor some of his assignments on it. The affair rested here until the next spring, when in April Geraldino's hopes of coming to an agreement with Sir Robert Walpole were disappointed.

The departure of Montijo from London in December, 1735, had left the Spanish without an official representative, so in addition to his other duties, Geraldino executed the orders of his government. In such critical times the English wished for an official envoy and worked for the appointment of Geraldino to the post. The matter was brought to a head in January, 1737, when Geraldino wrote to Sebastián de la Quadra, secretary of estado y despacho, that he expected an attack on Spain in the next parliament and asked leave to place a substitute in the meetings of the company while he observed that body. The desired permission was granted the following month. In May, he was informed that Montijo would not return to England; that he was to keep a close watch on the actions of the British court and was to give up his employments with the company as it was not fitting that an official representative of Spain should hold such an office. The following day, he recommended Pedro Tyrry as his successor in the company. The reason why Montijo had not returned to England was not far to seek. The death of Patiño in November, 1736, had resulted in a shake-up of the governmental organization in Spain and the following June, Montijo was appointed president of the Council of the Indies, much to the consternation of the company. Keene wrote:

I apprehend he may attempt to revenge himself for the usage he pretends to have received from the Directors with respect to the payment of his Cedula.<sup>22</sup>

The appointment of Geraldino was not at once made public but on July 29 his credentials were signed and a circular letter sent to all the Spanish representatives abroad notifying them of this action. While the selection of Geraldino was agreeable

<sup>22</sup> Keene to Newcastle, Madrid, June 17, 1737 (*ibid.*, Vol. 127).

to the English, that of Tyrry to the company, signed the same day, was far from being so. Tyrry was of Irish parentage and was suspected of ill will toward the British government and of having spied on the fleet at Portsmouth several years before.

The disputes between the king and company had been removed from the realm of diplomacy in 1736 by the efforts of Geraldino to settle matters by direct negotiation with the officials and directors. The efforts failed and in May, 1737, the company appealed to Newcastle for the aid of the government in this controversy. His action was not awaited, for in July the sub- and deputy-governors announced to him that a provisional accommodation had been reached with Geraldino, subject to the consent of the general court of the company.<sup>23</sup> The directors came to some sort of an agreement and sent an address to the king on the matters to be settled. The duke then had to inform Keene that although he had written the officials to know how things were progressing in this matter, they had made no reply. The situation continued in this indecisive state until the new year when the directors again addressed the king, agreeing to the basis of settlement of some of the questions at issue with the king of Spain.<sup>24</sup> This plan, with some modifications, was sent to Keene in April with orders to open negotiations to have it accepted in Spain. He did not carry out his instructions but wrote home that to do so might imperil a satisfactory settlement of the question of depredations, then very pressing. He also asked if he were

<sup>23</sup> Newcastle to Keene, Whitehall, June 23-July 4. In cipher (*ibid.*, Vol. 129).

<sup>24</sup> Address of the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company to the King, London, December 21-January 1, 1737-1738 (AGS. 2335, 6906).

This plan called for the accounts of the company's losses on the reprisals to be made up from the Spanish books, the company reserving the right to object to any item: That the Viceroy of New Spain and Peru pay off the whole debt in three years in instalments of six months, but should they refuse, they were to be paid by the king from the revenues of Old Spain: That in case of non-payment the company should be allowed to reimburse itself from the Negro duties: That the King of Spain should declare the Asiento to last for thirty trading years, that if it were for thirty current years from 1714, the Negro duties would be little over the 200,000 dollars advanced at the time of the contract.

to demand cédulas for the annual ship since the company might not dare trust it in Spanish hands at such a critical time. (An application for one had been made in February but no answer was given to it.) He concluded by saying that he would do nothing in the matter until he should have new instructions.<sup>25</sup> His action was approved and he was directed to let the case rest until it was seen what would happen.

Influenced by the desire to prevent the war they saw coming, Geraldino and Arthur Stert, one of the commissioners at Seville in 1732, held a number of conferences to try and find a way out of the difficulties confronting the two nations. From these grew Stert's plan of April, 1738. This provided for the settlement of the claims of each nation by cancelling the debts and demands against each other until the conclusion was reached that if Spain would pay England £140,000, the full claims of both would be settled. This plan was adopted by the British government late in June and Stert then devised a method of assignments to permit payment with the least possible difficulty. The South Sea Company was to pay £68,000 which was the amount they owed the king of Spain. The terms of the plan were not acceptable to the Spaniards but further negotiations on this footing were made, dependent upon the acceptance of Stert's project for assigning the Spanish debt to the company.<sup>26</sup> Geraldino was commanded, when he had signed the convention in its revised form, to prevent the order for the sum mentioned to the directors of the company. On August 27, Newcastle informed Geraldino that inquiry had been made of the officials of the company in respect to the payments to be made on the assignments of the Spanish court toward the settlement of the £95,000, finally agreed upon as the extent of the Spanish indebtedness. The company had replied that no absolute answer could be given but

<sup>25</sup> Keene to Newcastle, Madrid, April 21, 1738. Cipher (PRO, SP94, Vol. 130). In this, Keene asked Newcastle to confer with the sub-governor on the subject since he could not write to him in cipher. For Keene's letters to Burrell see the Shelburne MSS. (Assiento Papers, XLIII, W. L. Clements Library).

<sup>26</sup> La Quadra to Geraldino, San Ildefonso, August 2, 1738 (AGS. 2335, 6906).

that it was willing to comply when the king of Spain met the conditions contained in the addresses of the court of directors to the king of June 30, 1737, and December 21, of the same year.<sup>27</sup> The next day, Newcastle received an answer to these proposals. In this, Geraldino made the statement that he believed the Spanish king would meet the conditions of the company, if he had not already done so. He also assured Newcastle that he felt safe in promising that if the company would not pay the assignments, the king would pay them himself, in money.<sup>28</sup> Following this exchange of notes, a messenger was sent off to Keene with a letter from the duke giving an account of all the steps that had been taken in London since the arrival of the latest dispatches. The lords of the council had advised the king to proceed with the negotiations on the modification of the plan proposed by Spain. As a result, conferences had been held with Geraldino and with the officials of the company. The latter had £68,000 they could pay immediately and the rest on the growing Negro duties as soon as their demands were met in Spain. Keene was ordered to use his best efforts to have the Spanish king accept the proposal of Geraldino, that in case the demands of the company were not met, he would order the £95,000 paid in London, in money. In a short time a convention was signed between the British ministers and Geraldino. The first separate article provided that the king of Spain should have two methods of paying the money due England: one by assignments on the company, the other by money, in London, within three months after the acceptance of the convention. Instructions were sent that if the king should choose the first method of clearing his debts, the *cédulas* demanded by the company should be sent by return messenger; if the second, Geraldino was to be given power to raise and pay the money in London.<sup>29</sup> Keene, on the 15th of the month, advised his government that he believed the Spanish would pay the debt by *cédulas* on the company as

<sup>27</sup> Newcastle to Geraldino, London, August 16-27, 1738 (*ibid.*).

<sup>28</sup> Geraldino to Newcastle, London, August 17-28, 1738 (PRO, SP94, Vol. 132).

<sup>29</sup> Newcastle to Keene, August 30-September 10, 1738 (*ibid.*).

the other method seemed too much like buying peace with England.

The Spanish government however refused to accept the convention and claimed that Geraldino had exceeded his instructions. Keene reported:

They seem embarrassed they would not undo the work done or accept it as it stands. And as for payment by way of Assignations on the South Sea Company, they insist it is impossible to grant Such Cédulas as the Company demands, because the Sums due on Account of Reprisals are not liquidated, neither have They been able to find any Papers, by which They can be liquidated, in the offices which are the Department of the Council of the Indies. It is not easy for me to express to Your Grace half the wrath They throw out against the Said Company on this Occasion.<sup>30</sup>

While trying to persuade the Spanish to accept the alternative clause, that of payment in money, he became convinced that they were resolved to suspend the Asiento Contract.<sup>31</sup> The Spanish had, however, prepared cédulas for the company, although not to the extent desired.

A reply was made to the Spanish objections to the convention late in November when Keene was sent a new draft embodying the changes desired, except for the first separate article. On this point, no instructions were furnished him, but information was given by Messrs. Burrell and Bristowe, sub- and deputy-governors of the company. He was ordered to use all means in his power, both as agent of the company, and as his Majesty's representative, to bring Spain to an agreement on this point. He was at the same time given full powers to sign a new convention with the representative of the Spanish crown.<sup>32</sup> Newcastle recommended that the king pay the £68,000 then in the hands of the company, and the remainder by future drafts on the company, or in cash, as he saw fit. The South Sea Company formed the one stumbling block to an

<sup>30</sup> Keene to Newcastle, Segovia, September 29. Cipher (*ibid.*, Vol. 131).

<sup>31</sup> Edward Armstrong, *Elisabeth Farnese, the Termagant of Spain* (London, 1892), pp. 350-351.

<sup>32</sup> Newcastle to Keene, Whitehall, November 13-24 (PRO, SP94, Vol. 132).

agreement. Spain was unwilling to make further concessions, and demanded that the company pay the debts in full as was suggested by the English ministers in their alternative plans for the payment of the money due their country.<sup>33</sup> Two days later, Quintana, who had become the head of the department of the Indies, and had been a member of the commission of 1732, wrote Sebastián de la Quadra that the whole trouble was over the accounts of the *Royal Caroline* as the company refused to give a statement of the profits of the voyage, and the Negro duties, which had been agreed upon at 52 pence per peso. The king ordered that if the company did not soon come to terms on this question, to go no further on that of the reprisalia, thus allowing it to die, as the company was responsible for both accounts. In case the company came to some agreement, all was to be arranged with the directors, as well as the British ministry.<sup>34</sup> This information was furnished Keene two days later with the addition of a clause that the company had refused to reply to various memorials of the Spanish crown on the questions at issue. This was impressed upon him as the chief reason for the delay of the Spanish in coming to an agreement on the convention. At the beginning of the new year it was felt in Spain that the company was trying to reopen the dispute over the value of the pesos and the profits of the *Royal Caroline* and for this reason a suspension clause in the convention was deemed necessary, in case the company refused its just debts.<sup>35</sup> The Spanish had reason to doubt good faith in the payment of the £68,000, and that also made them demand the right to suspend the privileges of the company. Daily letters were exchanged in Madrid on the subject of the new convention; and on the 6th, Keene announced that he was willing to sign on the basis proposed by Spain, namely a separate article for preserving the peace without mentioning the affairs of the company, and to inform the directors, as

<sup>33</sup> La Quadra to Keene, Buen Retiro, December 22, 1738 (AGS. 2335, 6905).

<sup>34</sup> Madrid, December 27, 1738 (*ibid.*).

<sup>35</sup> Quintana to La Quadra, Madrid, January 1, 1739. La Quadra to Keene, Buen Retiro, January 1, 1739 (AGS. 2335, 6907).

well as the ministry, immediately, of the right of suspension claimed by his Catholic Majesty.<sup>86</sup>

On the 10th, La Quadra sent Keene the formal declaration of the Catholic King, reserving to himself the right to suspend the Asiento in case the demands of Spain were not met. It was asked that this be sent to the English court with a copy to the South Sea Company, as well as an acknowledgment of the receipt of the document.<sup>87</sup> Keene in order to come to an agreement, signed the convention and separate articles with La Quadra on the 14th. The same day they were remitted to England. Geraldino was sent the declaration and commanded to present copies to the ministry and the directors before he presented the ratification of the convention. He was next ordered to do his utmost to discover whether the company intended to pay or would totally refuse the demands of Spain. These orders were carried out but the convention was ratified in England on the 6th of February. This did not end the matter as it was under fire in parliament from late February until March 8 when the government carried the house by a very slim majority.<sup>88</sup> Spain, however, once the convention was signed was quite indifferent as to what went on in England; even the dispatches were not read.<sup>89</sup>

The declaration of the king of Spain was transmitted, as ordered, to the company and presented to the directors by Burrell and Bristowe on January 25, 1739, O. S. The directors in reply expressed surprise, and repeated the statement formerly made, that they would acknowledge the debts only when the king of Spain should come to some agreement on the reprisalia. This counter proposal of the directors was not answered and the crown of England was then memorialized;

<sup>86</sup> Keene to La Quadra: Madrid, January 6 (PRO, SP103, Foreign, Treaty Papers 68, No. 294).

<sup>87</sup> La Quadra to Keene, enclosing the declaration of his Catholic Majesty, both dated El Pardo, January 10, 1739 (AGS. 2335, 6906). The text of the declaration may be found in Cantillo, *Tratados*, p. 245, with the convention itself on pp. 338-341.

<sup>88</sup> Lanning, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 155-156.

<sup>89</sup> Keene to Newcastle, Madrid, March 30. Cipher (PRO, SP94, Vol. 133).

asking its interposition in the dispute with Spain. As a result, Keene was ordered to persuade that court to comply with the desires of the company. Another letter of the same day, in stronger terms, was not sent, at the request of the company, as it was giving further consideration to the matter. In an effort to get exact information on the subject, Iturralde, the new secretary of Marina y Indias, wrote Geraldino, asking him to obtain from the company a statement of payments made from 1731 to 1738 to the Spanish representatives abroad, and to others who might have had assignments on it. He was also to find out the number of Negroes imported into America, as well as the fourth part of the profits of the annual ship, which belonged to his Catholic Majesty. In addition, he was to compute the five per cent of the other three parts, also due him. A copy of this letter was to be given to Tyrry and his assistance requested in the matter.<sup>40</sup>

In the meantime, on April 17, Keene had passed the ordered offices to La Quadra who referred them to Quintana. He was answered on the 17th of the following month when Villarias (this title had been conferred on La Quadra) declared that the king refused to have any discussion over the affairs of that organization until the demanded £68,000 should be paid, adding,

. . . that if They should refuse that payment, His Majesty will proceed to declare the Assiento Suspended. In which case greater difficulties will be found than what are imagined at present, to get the Company reëstablished.<sup>41</sup>

Keene then protested to the home government over the attitude of the company toward himself and the lack of coöperation they had given in the negotiation of the points at issue.<sup>42</sup> On May 19, Newcastle wrote Keene that the nonpayment of the company's debts to Spain was not a sufficient reason for the suspension of the Asiento Contract as that was a national

<sup>40</sup> Iturralde to Geraldino, Madrid, April 20, 1739 (AGS. 2366, 7009).

<sup>41</sup> Villarias to Keene, Aranjuez, May 17, 1739. Translation sent home by Keene (PRO, SP94, Vol. 133).

<sup>42</sup> Keene to Courand, Madrid, May 18 (*ibid.*). Courand was an under secretary.

treaty and gave no such power to the king of Spain. He concluded by saying that if the Spaniards wanted justice in this matter, the plenipotentiaries provided for in the convention, might take it up immediately and settle it to the satisfaction of both parties. This view was presented to Villarias on June 4, but no answer was made except to complain that the company refused to pay its just debts. This led Spain to keep a jealous eye on the company's actions, and when, in July, Tyrry was no longer invited to the meetings of the directors, and the factors in America were ordered to remove their effects and stop the introduction of Negroes, Geraldino was asked to confirm these reports and give any other information he possessed of the aims of the company.<sup>43</sup>

Keene, while trying to straighten out the relations of the company with the crown of Spain, was also engaged in other matters of importance to his own government, chief among which was securing payment of the £95,000 agreed upon in the convention. As early as the end of March, Newcastle wrote directing him to keep the matter before the Spanish ministers, even though there were still two months before it was due. A month and a half later, after Keene's letter of the 24th of April, in which the information was given that the Spaniards considered this sum to be dependent upon the payment by the company, Newcastle wrote that the money was payable independent of any conditions, and that the king of Spain was expected to pay.<sup>44</sup> In answer, a conversation with Villarias was related in which it was made evident that the money would not be paid as long as the British fleet remained in the Mediterranean. (Haddock's squadron had been stationed there since June 1738.)<sup>45</sup> Villarias exclaimed:

That we were for desiring the £95,000 the very moment the Time was expired: and in the same breath, were for proposing delays for three or four Months before His Catholic Majesty could Know whether he was to receive what was so justly due Him from the Company. I was

<sup>43</sup> Villarias to Geraldino, San Ildefonso, July 27, 1739 (AGS. 2336, 6909).

<sup>44</sup> Newcastle to Keene, May 8-19, 1739. *Apart* (PRO, SP94, Vol. 134).

<sup>45</sup> Temperley, *Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear*, p. 213.

for distinguishing between the two Cases: But he told me That the Answer He returned to me, as on the 17th of May, His Master's Ultimate Resolution on that head; namely that He would hearken to no Proposal in behalf of the Company till they should actually pay the Sum in question.<sup>46</sup>

On June 11, as the time of payment was overdue, the British government ordered the merchants to withdraw their ships and effects from Spain immediately. Geraldino, in response to a question about the payment of the debt, was notified eleven days later that it would not be paid until the company had satisfied the debt due the king.<sup>47</sup> No further action seems to have been taken and, on August 14, Keene was ordered to leave Spain.

Thus it came about that the causes of the war, declared in October, 1739, might be traced back to the failure of the commission of 1732. Had matters in dispute between England and Spain been adjusted, it is probable that the course of events might have been different. Since the problems were not settled and new ones arose, all to be arranged by diplomatic negotiation, the irritation became too great and war resulted. In all this, the South Sea Company played a leading part, engaging in quarrels of its own with the Spanish monarch, then calling on its government for assistance. At the most critical juncture, an accord might have resulted, but the company, with a selfish narrow view, refused to pay, so war was the only alternative.

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<sup>46</sup> Keene to Newcastle, Madrid, June 9. *Apart* (PRO, SP94, Vol. 133).

<sup>47</sup> Villarias to Geraldino, Buen Retiro, June 22 (AGS. 2336, 6909).

## NEW RESEARCH ON THE FIRST PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS HELD AT PANAMA IN 1826

Each session of the Pan-American Conference stimulates research on the origin of this important movement. The history of the first Panama Congress has already been written from the official documents, but strange to relate, these do not accurately reflect popular contemporary opinion. Hence historians have not completely portrayed the spirit with which we greeted the beginnings of Pan-Americanism, because the attitudes of our governmental representatives differed from those of the constituencies whom they represented.

It is the purpose of this paper first to discuss northern newspaper reaction to the proposed congress; secondly, to see how this reaction differed from stands taken by principal statesmen of the time; thirdly, to see where editorial attitudes diverged from congressional attitudes; and finally to determine whether the judgment of subsequent historical scholars substantiates the predictions made by the contemporary press.

Our failure to attend the Panama Congress of 1826 is well known. It will be remembered that this had adjourned before our delegation arrived. Nevertheless, the launching of such a novel project has had great historical significance. Editorial comments from the important eastern cities of Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston show that news writers and their advertisers were keenly aware of the commercial advantages to be gained by participation in the proposed congress. Apparently, without exception, the northern press advocated a Pan-Americanism that would eliminate foreign commercial competition from our potential trade with South America. At the same time, these papers were equally eager that we preserve our now famous doctrine of neutrality.

The press discussed the Panama Mission from a common point of departure—namely, from the purposes of the proposed congress as stated by the *Official Gazette* of Colombia, February, 1825. President Adams's reasons for desiring a Pan-American Congress were different from those advanced by the executives of the southern republics. The northern press failed to distinguish very clearly between the two points of view, but it is the writer's opinion that the newspaper comments stemmed mainly from the Spanish-American program rather than from the Adams-Clay interpretation of it. This becomes important when it is shown that the northern press supported the president, but not for the reasons on which he preferred to rest his support. It has further significance when it is shown that congressional opposition to the president was based largely on the South American interpretation—the very interpretation used by the newspapers to establish quite different conclusions.

When the proposal was first advanced, the *Washington Gazette* expressed doubts as to the president's constitutional right to send ministers to such a congress.<sup>1</sup> This paper had no objections to a purely South American protective league, nor to the publication of a manifesto, nor yet to the formation of navigation and commercial conventions. These things were regarded as prerogatives of the new republics that did not concern us. However, when the proposed congress openly desired to break the Spanish hold on Puerto Rico and Cuba, the *Gazette* feared that that would be an automatic declaration of war against Spain—an unthinkable position in which to place ourselves. Moreover, the fifth and sixth planks of the Panama program contemplated premeditated war on Spanish possessions in Asia and Africa. The *Gazette* did not see how we could allow any of our compatriots to war in zones that were supposed to receive our official sanction. Having pointed out the difficulties involved in participation in such a congress, this newspaper hastened to say that nevertheless, we should

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, January 20, 1826, LV, No. 15329.

have some unofficial agents on hand to safeguard our commercial interests. It stated that the southern hemisphere consumed a hundred million dollars worth of manufactured products and implied that we must not lose such a valuable market. Furthermore, it maintained that we had nothing to gain from binding ourselves officially to a group of weaker states; that our military strength was unquestioned by Europe; and that we had already proved to the world the virtues of liberalism and freedom. To clinch its arguments, the *Gazette* patriotically harked back to American tradition with the admonition that we should "return to the warning voice of George Washington and avoid all alliances as the fundamental rule of our policy". The significant note in this editorial program is a selfish one. We were to get all the commercial privileges that we could, but we were not to entangle ourselves in any political organization. We were to protect our interests from unofficial sidelines, but we should not stoop to lend a hand to the struggling sister republics lest we be besmirched with the blood of their battles. Such an attitude is of course a natural product of the adolescent period through which the country was passing.

More space was given to the question of the Panama Mission in the *Daily National Intelligencer*. Debates in congress were faithfully reported as were also the proceedings of state legislatures discussing the subject. The editorial policy of this important daily emphasized our need for peace in order that we might concentrate on a "sedulous cultivation of our own resources".<sup>2</sup> Again, self-interest predominated. Vigorous protest was made against the secret debates being held in the senate. It was observed that since the measure appointing representatives to the congress was the first to come before the legislature of a new administration, its sponsors would do well to permit open discussion concerning it. However, a year later, the *Intelligencer* thought that the people of the United States as a whole remained indifferent, despite the importance

<sup>2</sup> Washington, D. C., February 9, 1826, XIV, No. 4072.

that had been attached to the Panama Mission by politicians in congress.<sup>3</sup>

When the house debates were most bitter, the *Alexandria Gazette* took the side of the Administration and said that it would not be afraid of the results of a battle to the finish on the topic.<sup>4</sup>

At the opening session of the Panama Congress, its presiding officer made an eloquent address in its behalf. The *National Journal* commented favorably upon the speech and saw no reason why we should regret our decision to take part in the proceedings of such a body.<sup>5</sup> Thus it can be seen that the Washington press supported some form of Pan-American union from the outset.

The best source of press opinion in Baltimore for the period under investigation is of course *Niles' Weekly Register*. As early as April 30, 1825, the redoubtable Niles unequivocally favored the Panama Congress, and favored our official participation in it, "if for no other purpose than to show the interest that we take in the progress and success of liberal institutions in the new world".<sup>6</sup> This appears to be a truly altruistic attitude until one reads further only to discover that Niles feared a time would come when it would be necessary for the free nations of the western hemisphere to join against the European despotisms of the Holy Alliance. Later this news sheet came directly to the point and stated boldly that

these states are of incalculable importance to the United States and there is reason to fear that already our great rival (Great Britain) in . . . (manufacturing and commercial interests) may have succeeded in establishing a predominating feeling in favor of herself, which it will be difficult for us to remove.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Issue of March 16, 1826. The people could not have been indifferent judging from other newspaper accounts.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, April 6, 1826, LV, No. 15394. Though this paper was published in Alexandria, Virginia, it is included in the Washington group because of its close connections with that center.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, September 2, 1826, XXXI, No. 781.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, No. 711.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, March 18, 1826.

Nevertheless, even Niles admitted that if these commercial gains would cost us our neutrality, we should oppose the mission. When it was learned that the senate debates were being held in secret, Niles objected strenuously. And when it was further known that Mr. Randolph of Virginia was the major opponent of the congress on the ground that the south was primarily interested in the protection of the institution of slavery, Niles's disgust was clearly stated. The northern interests did not wish to see England profit by the South American trade—and least of all because of the slavery institution. Moreover, it was estimated that our commerce would suffer annually an amount equal to “the salary of a president of the United States for an hundred (years)”, if we permitted England to monopolize the congress.<sup>8</sup>

Because Philadelphia was a more important port a century ago than it is now, newspaper opinion was especially significant on the question of our participation in the Panama Congress. The *Democratic Press* showed the necessity of our being courteous to the South American countries and objected to the “indecent and insulting language” used by some members of congress toward the prospective hosts in the southern hemisphere.<sup>9</sup> Again,

Great Britain has made treaties with these governments, acknowledging their independence; she has loaned them nearly a hundred millions of dollars; given them immense credits for goods; and, on all occasions, and in various ways, sought to win their good opinions and secure their commerce. Other European nations manifest similar dispositions, and thus impose upon us, if we desire their friendship or their commerce, the duty of showing that we are not less friendly disposed than other, and more distant nations.<sup>10</sup>

One who examines these newspapers is continually impressed with the reality of the commercial rivalry between the northern interests and Great Britain. When the senate had finally

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, 1826, XXX, No. 755. Practically the whole two issues of the *Register* for March 25 and for April 1, 1826, were devoted to the publication of documents on the Panama Question.

<sup>9</sup> April 15, 1826, XX, No. 4938.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

approved the appointments of our ministers, and the house had finally appropriated money for their expenses, the *Democratic Press* listed the four members from Pennsylvania who had voted in the negative and added the significant italicized question, "What will their constituents say"?<sup>11</sup> Obviously manufacturing elements in Pennsylvania thought only one way on the matter of the Panama Mission.

The *United States Gazette*, likewise published in Philadelphia, was particularly sarcastic and contemptuous of Mr. Randolph's filibustering,<sup>12</sup> and of the political motives of the minority senators who were using congress as a theater for their unprincipled exhibitions.<sup>13</sup> When President Adams sent his message to the house on the Panama Mission, it was published in full in the *Gazette* because

the interest felt and expressed while this question was before Congress will render this paper peculiarly valuable to the public.<sup>14</sup>

Still another Philadelphia publication, the *National Gazette*, was agitated lest Great Britain should actually organize the congress of Panama itself and be glad if we neglect it "in the abundance of our prudence, alarm or jealousy".<sup>15</sup> When the house debates became tedious and long-drawn-out it was this journal's opinion that "the country is so much tired of the main question that it would be content with almost any decision of the house".<sup>16</sup>

*The Albion*, published simultaneously in New York and Philadelphia, was concerned primarily with the preservation of our peace with European countries and expressed satisfaction that

the objects of the Congress will be *deliberative* and not *legislative*, and that the United States will concur in no measures that may impart hostility to European states.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> April 24, 1826, XX, No. 4965.

<sup>12</sup> March 4, 1826, LXIV, No. 9349.

<sup>13</sup> March 14, 1826, LXIV, No. 9357.

<sup>14</sup> March 21, 1826.

<sup>15</sup> April 18, 1826, VI, No. 1692.

<sup>16</sup> April 22, 1826.

<sup>17</sup> March 25, 1826, IV, No. 41. The full name of this paper was *The Albion or British, Colonial, and Foreign Weekly Gazette*.

When Adams submitted his message concerning the mission to the house on March 15, 1826, Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser* printed it in full and then added, "of the preceding Messages and Documents, the unprecedented number of ten thousand copies were ordered to be printed". We have seen that the Philadelphia press was particularly insistent that we participate in the Panama Congress in order to protect our commercial interests from the rivalry of Great Britain. What of New York editorial opinion?

As early as the sixth of January, 1825, one New York paper printed its belief that the United States would concur in sending plenipotentiaries to Panama.

We are perfectly aware that the subject is infinitely important and complicated, as well on account of its novelty as its extraordinary magnitude. But we have ventured briefly to give our humble opinion, in the hope that our brother editors as well as other enlightened citizens, may enter into the discussion of a subject the most difficult and delicate that has been presented to the public since the commencement of our glorious revolution.<sup>18</sup>

Evidently this particular paper had an exalted idea of the potentialities of such a Pan-American Congress. However, it should be remembered that this was written in the very first stages of the movement and the practical limitations later imposed by the participants were not yet known. Still this journal was wholeheartedly in favor of the idea even while it was in its most fantastic period.

The *New York American* supported Adams's position on the Panama Mission with such avidity that the *Globe and Emerald* commented sarcastically, "We congratulate the President and the *New York American* upon such respectable cooperation".<sup>19</sup> The *New York Spectator*, on the other hand, lost patience with the senate opposition.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> This is quoted in *Niles' Register*, April 30, 1825, XXVIII, No. 711. Unfortunately, the specific name of the newspaper was not given though the place of publication was given as New York.

<sup>19</sup> March 18, 1826, III, No. 11, New York and Philadelphia.

<sup>20</sup> March 21, 1826, XXIX.

The *North American Review* considered this Pan-American alliance to be "among the most remarkable events of political history".<sup>21</sup> However, it did not advise the United States to join the confederacy yet but held that we certainly ought to have representatives present "to take part in such discussions as affect our immediate interests".<sup>22</sup> It is clear that the New York papers were unequivocal in their approval of such a conference even though this was a first experiment in the new world.

Substantiating the traditional New England doctrine of thrift, we find the *Boston Daily Advertiser* a trifle concerned over the expense of the mission.<sup>23</sup> The *Boston Repertory* quoted a most interesting statement of Chateaubriand apropos of the matter at hand. The Frenchman said:

The most important feature in the foreign policy of the Anglo-Americans, is the sending of an ambassador to the Congress of Panama, a resolution which, followed by a prudent choice of the person to be sent, may consolidate the liberty of a whole hemisphere. . . . The noble post of being at the head of a new world is certainly well worth the sacrifice of a few dollars in duties and a few bales of cotton.<sup>24</sup>

Summarizing the evidence of these editorial comments from journals of opinion in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, the following conclusions may be fairly reached.

1. There was general approval of the idea of a Pan-American Congress.
2. There was general agreement that the United States should participate in such a congress.
3. Opinion was divided as to whether the United States should participate officially or unofficially.
4. Every northern paper examined based its editorials on the primary assumption that our commercial interests must be protected and improved.

<sup>21</sup> January 1826, XXII, pp. 162-175.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> As quoted in the *Daily National Intelligencer*, February 9, 1826.

<sup>24</sup> Requoted in the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 1, 1826, V, No. 13.

5. All were agreed that a policy of neutrality best furthered commercial activities.

6. Therefore, if official participation in the Panama Congress would jeopardize our neutrality, then unofficial representation was the desirable approach.

7. However, if official participation would not impinge upon our neutrality doctrine, then far more gain was to be had from placing ourselves in a position where we could dominate the congress.

8. We could not afford to ignore the congress altogether because Great Britain would seize the commercial opportunities for itself.

9. The mission might be expensive, but it would be worth anything that it cost.

10. All the northern papers condemned the congressional opposition, particularly that of Mr. Randolph, which resulted in such great delay and lengthy debate.

11. It is significant that the status of slavery in the Spanish-American republics apparently did not concern the north. The whole southern opposition to the conference outwardly centered on this one point just as northern approval centered on the point of commercial advantage.

To complete the picture the reader should know that the press waged a losing battle because the commerce of South America "which we might then have secured passed into other hands, unfriendly to the United States".<sup>25</sup> We have seen the attitude of a sectional group of newspapers. How does this attitude compare with the position taken by the greatest contemporary statesmen?

Henry Clay is popularly supposed to have been the first Pan-American.<sup>26</sup> It would be more correct to say that he was at one time merely the most enthusiastic Pan-American of his day. There were others before him who conceived of a united North and South America.<sup>27</sup> Madison, for example, in 1811,

<sup>25</sup> Davis, *Notes*, Treaty Volume (1776-1887), p. 1273.

<sup>26</sup> Definitely so stated in H. G. James and P. A. Martin, *The Republics of Latin-America* (New York, 1933), pp. 465-466.

<sup>27</sup> "Many examples might be given to show that the ideal of American unity appealed to men of vision in both North and South America during the first decade or two of the nineteenth century". J. B. Lockey, *Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings* (New York, 1920), p. 269.

even went so far as to include Canada in some scheme of all American union. Jefferson too had a Pan-American policy.<sup>28</sup> However, it was not until May 10, 1820, when Clay spoke on the subject in the house of representatives that the embryonic doctrine of Pan-Americanism was truly launched on the American scene. He declared:

It is in our power to create a system of which we shall be the center, and in which all South America will act with us. In respect to commerce we should be most benefited. This country would become the place of deposit of the commerce of the world. . . . In relation to South America the United States will occupy the same position as the people of New England to the rest of the United States. . . . We should become the center of a system which would constitute the rallying point of human wisdom against the despotism of the old world.<sup>29</sup>

Clay's subsequent part in furthering the participation of the United States in the Panama Congress of 1826 is considered by one authority as the "outstanding diplomatic event" of his career as secretary of state.<sup>30</sup> He is supposed to have converted the indifferent Adams to a receptive frame of mind. Moreover, his influence in congress was considerable. One of the romantic highlights of the Panama controversy occurred when John Randolph, ardent opponent of any Pan-American alliance, told the senate in April, 1826 that the solidarity between President Adams and Secretary Clay on this question was "a coalition between the Puritan and the blackleg". For this he was challenged to a duel by Clay. It is pertinent to note that Clay's attitude ran an intellectual and emotional gamut from idealistic enthusiasm to conscientious argument, ultimately dying out in disillusion. His general instructions to Anderson and Sergeant of May 8, 1826, constitute the best statement of his position.<sup>31</sup> "The assembling of a Congress

<sup>28</sup> Cox, *Pan-American Policy of Jefferson and Wilkinson*. In *Mississippi Historical Review*, September, 1914, pp. 212-214.

<sup>29</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 16th Congress, 1st Session, II, 2226-2267.

<sup>30</sup> Samuel Flagg Bemis, *American Secretaries of State*, IV, 137. See article by T. E. Burton, "Henry Clay".

<sup>31</sup> Department of State, *Instructions*, XI, 35.

at Panama, composed of diplomatic representatives from independent American nations, will form a new epoch in human affairs".<sup>32</sup> The subjects which he permitted our ministers to discuss concerned peace in America, maritime neutrality rules, the adoption of the commercial most-favored nation principle, and the principle of non-colonization. Although Henry Clay was secretary of state and a tremendously vital figure in American politics, the writer searched in vain for newspaper comments on his Pan-American policy. Several papers mentioned his duel with Randolph, but aside from that, Clay's part in furthering the Panama Congress was not stressed by journals of opinion.

Adams's evolution on Pan-Americanism was the reverse of Clay's. At first he was cold toward any such proposal. In 1820, he had said "There is no community of interests or of principles between North and South America".<sup>33</sup> Then he became mildly interested, and later mildly enthusiastic. However, in Adams's case, the idea of Pan-Americanism was closely related to his favorite non-colonization principle—a principle which he had set forth in the Monroe Doctrine just three years earlier. He saw in the Panama Congress an opportunity to give moral sanction and greater authority to this doctrine. Yet he was unwilling in the last analysis to assume the responsibilities that would follow upon such a contingency, so he was content to have his principles enunciated at a safe distance from the heat of controversy.<sup>34</sup> Adams's stand is discernible from a perusal of his official communications to congress.<sup>35</sup> His most eloquent position is taken in his congressional message of December 26, 1825. It is important to note again that Adams's reasons for wishing the United States to be present were very different from the objects of the congress as conceived by Bolívar and the *Colombia Ga-*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, V, 176.

<sup>34</sup> For an account of the relationship between the Monroe Doctrine and the Panama Congress, with Adams's and Clay's position thereon, see Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826* (Boston, 1927), pp. 204-222.

<sup>35</sup> Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II, 302, 318, 328, 356, 431.

zette. Adams explained that we would be in a position to give advice to the Spanish-Americas; that we could receive commercial advantages; that we could define blockades and neutral rights; that we could try to stop privateering; that we could work for the abolition of the slave trade; and that we could advocate religious liberty. These were all highly moral purposes with the sole exception of the plank on commercial advantage. Adams believed in his constitutional right to accept the invitation, but realized that the senate would have to confirm his nominations and that the house would have to grant the appropriations—hence his seemingly urgent arguments. Nevertheless, he was always careful to point out that we would not abandon our principle of avoiding entangling alliances, nor would we formally bind ourselves to any nation or congress of nations. Even Adams's most enthusiastic passages were quite mild compared with the ardent pleas of the press. Unlike Clay, Adams received much newspaper publicity on the Panama Mission. As a matter of fact, Adams was given credit for the whole affair, although there was some criticism of his policy of conducting secret negotiations. All his congressional messages on the subject were printed in full "for the use of posterity". Nevertheless, both congress and the press ignored Adams's stand and discussed the mission from other angles.

The man who actually called the first Panama Congress was Simón Bolívar.<sup>36</sup> The United States was not included in the original invitation. Indeed, Bolívar preferred to have England rather than the United States present.<sup>37</sup> He had neither faith in, nor love for, the colossus of the north. However on November 1, 1825, we received a note from Mexico and on November 2 an invitation from Colombia—mainly be-

<sup>36</sup> On December 7, 1824, Bolívar issued a circular letter proposing a Pan-American Congress to the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Central America, the United Provinces of Buenos Aires, Chile, and Brazil. For a complete reprint of this document see *The International Conferences of American States, 1889-1923*, edited by James Brown Scott (New York, 1931).

<sup>37</sup> Fabian Velarde, *El Congreso de Panama en 1826* (Panama, R. de P., Editorial Minerva, 1922).

cause prime minister F. de P. Santander had insisted that we be invited.<sup>38</sup>

Bolívar was more visionary than other proponents of Pan-Americanism. In his original invitation he wrote: "The day our plenipotentiaries make the exchanges of their powers will stamp in the diplomatic history of the world an immortal epoch". But he, too, was to feel the keen disappointment generally experienced by those who believe unconditionally. When he realized that the Panama Congress was not to fulfil his dreams, he compared his efforts to those of the fabled Greek who tried to direct the ships around him from his position on a rock.<sup>39</sup> Despite the fact that Bolívar was no particular friend of the United States, our press praised him as "The Great Liberator", and seemed to show only admiration for him in 1825 and 1826.<sup>40</sup> He had played a dramatic rôle and the newspapers examined by the writer treated him as a colorful hero.<sup>41</sup>

George Canning, British Prime Minister, deserves brief mention because he too favored a Pan-American Congress—provided England was to be invited. He even connived to keep the United States from participating.<sup>42</sup> His policy is clearly stated in his instructions to Edward J. Dawkins, the

<sup>38</sup> In replying to Bolívar's invitation on February 6, 1825, for Colombia, Santander said: "In regard to the United States, I have thought it advisable to invite them to join us in the august assembly of Panama, as I am firmly persuaded that none among the allies will fail to see with satisfaction those sincere and enlightened friends take part in our deliberations upon subjects referring to our common interest". The entire letter is quoted in *International Conferences of American States*, op. cit.

<sup>39</sup> Hildegard Angell, *Simon Bolívar* (New York, 1930), p. 227. The biographies of Bolívar scarcely mention his part in the calling of the Panama Congress. Indeed, they do not seem to consider this as one of his achievements.

<sup>40</sup> "At Washington the papers spread a hundred lies about Bolívar's intentions" (M. Vaucaire, *Bolívar the Liberator*, Boston and New York, 1929, p. 172). If this is true the present writer found no evidence of it.

<sup>41</sup> For the best accounts of the attitudes of the South American governments toward the Panama Congress, see Daniel F. O'Leary, *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur-América. Memorias* (Madrid, 1915).

<sup>42</sup> H. W. V. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-1827* (London, 1925), p. 179.

British representative to the congress. Canning was interested in the preservation and stimulation of British commerce and investments, in canal concessions, and in the problems of English colonists in South America.<sup>43</sup> Dawkins was a credit to his government on this occasion. He did advance British maritime interests. He did prevent the United States from becoming the guiding factor in Spanish-America. And he did gain the good will, hence the commerce of the congress for Great Britain.<sup>44</sup> While much was written about British commercial rivalry in connection with the Panama Congress, Canning's name was rarely if ever mentioned. However, since Canning's policy and British policy were one and the same thing, it may be fairly concluded that the northern press was more influenced by this attitude than by the attitude of our own statesmen.

A study of the debates in congress on the Panama Mission reveal the multitude of opinions held at the time.<sup>45</sup> One thing is clear from a perusal of these documents—namely, that internal political dissensions at the beginning of a new administration were responsible for much of the haranguing and pointless discussion. The true merits of the issue were often obscured in partisan acrimony. The house wrangled four months over the Panama Mission, while the senate in secret session witnessed a briefer but more bitter struggle. The senate was concerned primarily with the confirmation of appointments, constitutional issues, the application of the Monroe Doctrine, the slavery controversy, the problems of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Haiti. In short, the senate discussed the particular purposes of such a congress, the desirability of the congress, and the confirmation of appointments. The house covered these issues and more—namely, appropriations, the

<sup>43</sup> See J. Fred Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin-America 1808-1830* (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 217-246.

<sup>44</sup> These things are claimed for Dawkins in J. Fred Rippy, *Latin America in World Politics*. Revised Edition (New York, 1931), pp. 62-67.

<sup>45</sup> Benton's *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856* (Vols. VIII and IX) covers the subject inclusively.

right of the house to self-expression on such missions, and the question of secret negotiations.

Hayne of South Carolina argued that the purpose of the congress was military and that we would eventually be forced into war. Moreover, he stressed the delicate nature of the slavery question. Woodbury of Connecticut also feared that we would be dragged into war. White argued that the Monroe Doctrine was being misinterpreted. Holmes of Maine objected to the fact that there was to be a perpetual league—something new in the history of international affairs. Berrien argued that our presence at such a congress would establish a political connection that would violate Washington's instructions. Robbins and Johnson declared all these fears were exaggerated—that it was peace, not war, which was intended. Others who opposed the mission were Van Buren of New York, Dickerson of New Jersey, Benton of Missouri, Randolph of Virginia, Branch, Chandler, Cobb, Eaton, Findlay, Kane, King, Macon, Rowan, and Williams. The opposition was truly more concerned with its hostility to the new administration than it was in the merits of coöperation with the southern hemisphere. Among those who favored the project were Barton, Bell, Bouligny, Chambers, Chase, Clayton, Edwards, Harrison, Hendricks, Knight, Lloyd, and Marks. For convenience, the various congressional arguments may be listed as follows, together with the position taken by the northern press thereon.

1. The appointments of Anderson and Sergeant as delegates were bitterly contested both for personal and party reasons. This matter was not covered by the press.
2. The question of conducting open or secret debate was finally decided by the senate. The newspapers rebelled at the senate's decision in favor of secrecy but were inclined to blame it on Adams.
3. There was an attempt to censure Adams for partisan reasons. The newspapers reported this without ascertainable editorial comment.
4. The principle of "no entangling alliances" was debated from every angle. The press debated it from the angle of commercial benefit.
5. Pro-slavery interests objected to the representation of black

Haiti on a par with white republics. Moreover, the emancipation of slavery had already been accomplished in the Spanish-American states and this greatly disturbed the south. But when it came to a vote in congress, the slavery issue was settled on partisan rather than sectional grounds. As has already been mentioned, the northern press was not at all concerned with this question.

6. The issue of Cuban and Puerto-Rican liberation was one of the major reasons for prolonged debate. The press also discussed this issue, but almost solely from the commercial angle.

7. Congress quarreled over Adams's attempt to broaden the Monroe Doctrine. The editorials showed a fear that the doctrine might be stretched so as to involve us in a war.

8. The expense of the mission was discussed. The press was inclined to consider that of no importance in the long run.

9. The house attempted to prove that it too had rights and prerogatives in the matter of foreign relations. While the newspapers printed this fact in their daily digests of congressional proceedings, the writer found no editorial comment.

10. The American doctrine of neutrality was again discussed. The press favored neutrality because our commerce flourished under that policy. Here was one place where congress and the press agreed.

11. Principles of navigation and commerce were enunciated. Substantially the same arguments were advanced by the press.

These journals of opinion found occasion from time to time to mention individual participants in congressional debates. It seems to the writer that much more space was given to Mr. Randolph's antics than historians recognize. Evidently he was the contemporary free lance who served to focus journalistic opprobrium. However, on the whole, the congressional arguments were political rather than economic in their tenor. The reverse was true of the press. Of course, partisan attitudes cloaked economic interests then as now, and to this extent congressional advocates of Pan-Americanism were arguing from the same premises as were the masters of the printed page.

American historians have given proportionately little space to the Panama Congress of 1826. Von Holst criticizes Clay and Adams for being too idealistic about it, and criticizes

congress for being too cynical.<sup>46</sup> He concludes that the struggle was worthless except for the fact that slaveholders had at last put themselves irrevocably on record in defense of their interests.<sup>47</sup> This is indeed a strange angle from which to view the Panama Mission, and one which is unsound in the light of subsequent similar congresses. Of course, Von Holst was not to be blamed since no Pan-American Congress had been held during the fifty years that had elapsed from 1826 to the date of his writing. Moreover, the events of the Civil War were still vivid in his mind and it was natural that he should interpret earlier events in terms of that great struggle.

J. B. McMaster deals adequately enough with the Panama Mission in straight narrative fashion without enlarging on its implications.<sup>48</sup> However, it is obvious that he bases his account entirely on official documents and adds nothing new to the topic—not even a new emphasis. In view of the fact that McMaster usually drew so heavily on newspaper sources this is worth noting.

In his *Rise of the New West*, Frederick Jackson Turner gives an account of the Panama debates which shows them to have been primarily a rallying ground for political opposition to Adams.<sup>49</sup> He makes much of the fact that because Adams was elected president by the house of representatives when his opponents had a larger electoral vote, he was an unpopular president. Turner holds that the proposed Panama Mission was large enough to “permit combined attack under many flags”. Again he states that

the opposition considered rather the purposes of the congress as contemplated by the South American promoters than the propositions which the United States was willing to discuss in the purely consultative body which Adams and Clay had in mind.

<sup>46</sup> H. Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (Chicago, 1877), pp. 409-433.

<sup>47</sup> “But as in the case of state-rights men and the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, so now the slaveholders had registered their claims. This gave a permanent meaning to the otherwise absolutely fruitless and aimless struggle over the Panama Mission” (*ibid.*).

<sup>48</sup> J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, Ch. LI.

<sup>49</sup> *American Nation Series* (New York and London, 1906), XIV, 280-285.

Edward Channing supposes:

Had everything gone well, it is conceivable that a league of American nations—North, South, and Central—might have been formed then that would have powerfully affected the progress of the world. The United States would naturally have taken the lead. . . . Probably nothing would have come of the enterprise had the United States been represented at Panama and it may have been for the best that no such league of American nations was formed.<sup>50</sup>

This historian brings out the struggle for supremacy on the part of the eminent personalities of the day. He maintains that Canning was successful in his policy of preventing American leadership; that Bolívar failed in his desire to link the Spanish-Americas with Great Britain; and that Adams and Clay would have been successful if they had had the support of their countrymen. Of course, none of this could have been foreseen by the contemporary press and consequently no relevant newspaper remarks were available for comparison.

For his own purposes, Dexter Perkins emphasizes another aspect of the Panama Congress.<sup>51</sup> He establishes a connection between it and the Monroe Doctrine. He believes that the Spanish-Americas definitely hoped that this congress would give a more permanent, binding effect to this new doctrine. He says that Henry Clay was not a "truly skilful diplomat" because he did not seize his opportunity in this connection. He criticizes Clay for not immediately dispelling South American illusions on the subject. He says the invitation still could have been accepted without evading the issue as to what the Monroe Doctrine definitely would and would not do for the struggling South-American Republics. While this is a narrow interpretation, it is highly significant, in view of the fact that on December 16, 1936, the United States finally did what Clay should have done one hundred and ten years earlier.<sup>52</sup> But

<sup>50</sup> E. Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1921), V, 361-363.

<sup>51</sup> Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine 1823-1826* (Boston, 1927), pp. 204-222.

<sup>52</sup> For an account of the non-intervention pact signed by the United States putting an end to the South-American concept of the Monroe Doctrine, see the *New York Times*, December 17, 1936.

this time the South Americans wanted to write out of the Pan-American Congress the principle of intervention, whereas on the earlier occasion they were eager to write into the pact just such a doctrine. Clay's failure to be definite resulted in this distortion. As has been shown above, the newspapers of 1825 and 1826 did recognize the part that could be played by the Monroe Doctrine at Panama. With the exception of commercial and neutrality arguments, the new Monroe Doctrine occupied as much space as any other single argument.

Samuel Flagg Bemis has only two very short paragraphs on the Panama Mission in his recent *Diplomatic History of the United States*. In the one he mentions Adams's failure to coöperate wholly with Bolívar's Conference "for the purpose, among others, of writing the idea of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Pact".<sup>53</sup> In the other he dismisses the congress with the adjective "abortive".<sup>54</sup> The fact that a comprehensive, excellent diplomatic history should devote so little space to an embryonic idea which later had such important results is thought-provoking. It is significant, however, that Bemis should select for mention in connection with the Panama Mission the point of the Monroe Doctrine.

The texts on Hispanic-American relations give surprisingly little attention to the Panama Congress of 1826. If these pass over the event lightly, it is small wonder that such a general history as Beard's *Rise of American Civilization* never mentions it in the course of several thousands of pages.

J. Fred Rippy concludes that England derived more benefit from the Panama Congress than did the United States. He brings out the fact that this congress revealed the rivalry between the two countries more clearly than any other event to that date.

What was accomplished by the two rivals at Panama? Nothing, so far as the United States was concerned. The mission cost the British government more than \$16,000 but it was probably worth it. The Dawkins despatches show that he had been very busy in his attempts to counter-

<sup>53</sup> S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1936), pp. 208-209.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.

act the influence of the United States. Britain had apparently achieved another triumph, although, due to the meager results of the congress, it was of no great significance.<sup>55</sup>

No other historian emphasizes this point to the same degree, but it was substantially confirmed by a study of the northern newspapers. Nevertheless, though the rivalry between these two countries was an important factor, it was not the only point involved. In his later book, Rippey actually concludes that it was a good thing our representative did not arrive at the congress because North-American and Spanish-American interests were more conflicting than either section realized at the time.<sup>56</sup> The newspapers also bear him out on this argument. Our interests were deemed to be more concentric than they really were.

William Spence Robertson holds that the United States accepted the invitation "largely because of the favorable attitude of Secretary Clay".<sup>57</sup> As has already been shown, Clay's part was not emphasized by the contemporary news journals.

John H. Latané shows that slavery became an issue mainly because Haiti, a Negro Republic, was to be represented, and because the other Hispanic states had emancipated slaves. He dismisses the subject briefly. "The Panama Congress was without practical results and it possesses merely an historical interest".<sup>58</sup> As far as the northern newspapers were concerned, the question of slavery had no significance whatsoever. Slavery was at this time a partisan rather than a sectional argument and whenever it was mentioned by the press, which was not often, it was preceded by derogatory adjectives.

In his recent book, E. Taylor Parks is concerned mainly

<sup>55</sup> J. F. Rippey, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain*, op. cit., pp. 217-246.

<sup>56</sup> J. F. Rippey, *Latin-America and World Politics*, Revised Edition (New York, 1931), p. 65.

<sup>57</sup> W. S. Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States* (New York, 1923), pp. 381-383.

<sup>58</sup> J. H. Latané, *The United States and Latin-America* (New York, 1920), pp. 222-225.

with the relations between Colombia and the United States.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, he shows that American influence did not diminish because we were not represented at the congress. The newspapers of the day certainly thought that we would lose our prestige and leadership to England if we dared to ignore the congress.

James Brown Scott, who wrote the introduction to a volume on American international conferences, notes that the "inception of the Congress transcended in importance its meeting and indeed its proceedings".<sup>60</sup> This is a point well taken. He even goes so far as to say that "In very truth, the Congress of Panama was a spiritual outpouring of the American soul, imprisoned as it were, in a material body". The editorials of the day were materialistic and selfish. If there was any spiritual outpouring of the American soul, the writer failed to observe it.

Joseph B. Lockey thought the beginnings of Pan-Americanism were important enough to warrant a book.<sup>61</sup> His study has thrown much light on the whole congress of 1826 and is still quoted universally as the standard work on the subject. His conclusions ought to be given special weight because of his thorough consideration. Lockey notes that the congress did not fulfil the hopes of Clay and its many other supporters. He also states that "the greatness, the benevolence, the humanity of its design appeared to make no appeal to men's imaginations".<sup>62</sup> The newspaper accounts support him on this point. Certainly selfish motives predominated. Men's imaginations were fired—but not by its benevolent potentialities. Moreover, Lockey clearly proves that the character of the congress was intended to be diplomatic and that opposition to it was based mainly on internal political dissensions

<sup>59</sup> E. T. Parks, *Colombia and the United States, 1765-1934* (Durham, 1935), pp. 137-147.

<sup>60</sup> J. B. Scott, ed. *International Conferences of American States, 1889-1928*, *op. cit.*

<sup>61</sup> J. B. Lockey, *Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings*, *op. cit.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

having little to do with the actual question. He also believes that while the congressional debates caused a delay that resulted in our missing the assembly, it was possible "that the presence of representatives of the United States might not have contributed to the harmonious carrying out of the aims of the congress".<sup>63</sup>

Summarizing the attitudes of historians, the following conclusions are offered:

1. The Panama Congress of 1826 is treated briefly if treated at all.
2. When it is referred to, it is usually to support some particular thesis that the author is bent on following. In other words, it rarely stands on its own feet except in a straightaway history, and even then the respective authors choose to stress one aspect above all others.
3. The failure of the congress is universally emphasized at the expense of its deeper significance.
4. On the whole, historians decidedly overlook the commercial motives, as clearly stated in the newspapers of the day, for our participation in the Panama Congress.

Returning to the purposes of this paper which were set forth at the outset, it may now be concluded, firstly, that northern newspapers ardently favored the proposed Panama Congress of 1826 because of the opportunity which it offered for commercial gain; secondly, this attitude differed from the attitudes of the principal statements of the time in motive and degree of enthusiasm; thirdly, the attitude of the northern press differed essentially from the attitudes of congress; and finally, it must be admitted, that historical scholars have never taken cognizance of the tremendous efforts of the contemporary press to foster our participation in this congress. The fact that a large section of the public of the United States favored a Pan-American Union in 1826 was never manifest either to the South American countries or to subsequent North Americans because this did not appear in our official state papers upon which we have based practically all of our secondary accounts.

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.

## DOCUMENTS

### THE ORDINANCES OF THE AUDIENCIA OF NUEVA GALICIA

The foundation of an audiencia in Nueva Galicia was first officially suggested in 1544 by Lorenzo de Tejada, an *oidor* in the audiencia of New Spain entrusted with the conduct of a general *visita* in Nueva Galicia, and with the enforcement there of the New Laws, after the troubles of the Mixton War. Tejada's report<sup>1</sup> described the territory as

una de las buenas provincias desta Nueva España, pero de poca Cristiandad y menos justicia, lo primero por falta de ministros que enseñen la doctrina, y lo segundo por defecto del gobernador que en ella estaba.

An audiencia might remedy this state of affairs :

Es necesario que vuestra Magestad provea aquella provincia de Audiencia y prelado propio y que éste sea religioso, y se le apliquen los pueblos de Avalos y provincias de Colima y Zacatula que confinan con Galicia y están muy lejos desta Real Audiencia . . . no conviene que la gobernación quede en uno, aunque sea persona calificada, porque la autoridad de la Audiencia es grande, y tiénesele otro respeto que al particular.

Only a Spanish lawyer could so have described a savage province torn by rebellion and racial feeling, and could have suggested the establishment of a bench of school-trained lawyers as a suitable remedy.

The Council of the Indies commended Tejada's *buena diligencia* and in general adopted his advice in 1548. The crown, however, showed a marked disinclination to entrust to the new court an authority which might compete with that of the audiencia of New Spain. The new jurisdiction, for instance, was confined to the conquests of Nuño de Guzmán; the older settlements of the coastal area mentioned in Tejada's letter remained in the jurisdiction of Mexico, despite constant protests from Guadalajara, until 1574.<sup>2</sup> Even in the restricted

<sup>1</sup> 1544. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla: Simancas, Secular, 58-5-8 (Audiencia de México, cartas y expedientes, 1533-1571).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1576. Virrey y Audiencia de México al Rey, sobre límites de la Audiencia de Guadalajara (A.G.I.: Simancas, Secular, 58-5-9/27). Cf. also, *Recopilación de Leyes*, Lib. 11, Tit. XV, Ley 7.

area of New Galicia proper, the subordinate status of the judges was clearly indicated by the coupling of the title of "oidor" with the inferior one of "alcalde mayor", a practice which persisted until the reorganization of the audiencia in 1572. The constant possibility of the oidores of Mexico interfering in the affairs of New Galicia, suggested by the provisions for appeals from the one audiencia to the other, was further emphasized by a cédula of 1550<sup>3</sup> ordering that all cases, in which the *oidores alcaldes mayores* failed to reach agreement, should be referred to Mexico.

The whole arrangement provided by the second, third, and fourth of the ordinances which follow, was unusual even in subordinate audiencias. The minimum sum over which civil appeals might be carried to Mexico was raised in 1550 to five hundred pesos<sup>4</sup>—still a surprisingly low figure. In practice very few litigants availed themselves of their right of appeal. The audiencia of Mexico decided numbers of cases concerning property situated in New Galicia, brought before it without any reference to the subordinate court. Its records, however, contain very few instances of appeal; and those few were mainly cases in which oidores of New Galicia, or their children, were personally concerned.<sup>5</sup> The right of appeal probably disappeared in 1572; certainly nothing more is heard of it after that date.

The provisions contained in the sixteenth ordinance for the holding of visitas, were common to most of the audiencias; in the case of New Galicia, however, they were profoundly modified by a cédula of 1550,<sup>6</sup> which laid down that two, not one, of the *oidores alcaldes mayores* should be constantly employed in conducting visitas, and that they might be despatched to any part of New Spain, at the viceroy's discretion. A supplementary cédula<sup>7</sup> added that all suits in New Galicia concerning sums of less than five hundred pesos might be decided by two oidores sitting together; or in first instances, by one alone. The Council of the Indies evidently assumed that the judicial work of the province would be insufficient to keep four judges of appeal occupied, and decided to employ two of the new judges on

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Antonio Tello, *Crónica Miscelánea*, Cap. CLXV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Cap. CLXIV.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.*, Archivo general de la Nación, Mexico: Tierras t. 2971, Exp. 8; Civil t. 430, Exp. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. Documentos inéditos . . . de Ultramar*, XXIII, 105. Recited in full in Velasco's commissions to Lebrón and Contreras (A.G.I.: Patronato 181, R<sup>o</sup> 22—new numbering).

<sup>7</sup> *Cf. Doc. ined. Ultramar*, XXIII, 91.

roving commissions, wherever they might be most needed, in connection with Luis de Velasco's attempts to re-assess tributes and to enforce general legislation for the protection of the Indian population. These traveling judges might even be called upon, when reporting to Mexico to assist in the work of the audiencia there.<sup>8</sup> The new audiencia was clearly intended to be subordinate in fact as well as in name, and to be supervised in all its activities by the authorities in Mexico City.

The first oidores alcalde mayores, none of whom had held office in New Spain before, began work under most inauspicious circumstances. Lebrón de Quiñones arrived in Mexico in November, 1548, and after presenting the ordinances of the new audiencia before the viceroy and oidores of New Spain, wrote a letter to the king<sup>9</sup> announcing that he was about to leave for New Galicia alone. Of his three colleagues, Martínez de la Marcha had missed the *flota*, Sepúlveda was dead, and Contreras, critically ill. Lebrón further complained that although the ordinances with which he was armed granted authority in *cosas de gobernación*, including appointments to *corregimientos*,<sup>10</sup> to the audiencia of New Galicia, the viceroy refused to regard the ordinances as curtailing his own authority in such matters throughout the whole area of New Spain. Lebrón asked for a clear ruling in the matter of *gobernación*, and for authority to discharge in person all the duties of the audiencia until his colleagues should arrive.

In December, 1548, Lebrón arrived at Guadalajara, where he was received with a marked lack of enthusiasm.<sup>11</sup> The *vecinos* informed him that their territory was too poor to support an audiencia; and that if an audiencia had been appointed, it should sit at Guadalajara and not at Compostela.<sup>12</sup> Lebrón, however, dared not disobey his instructions, and went on to Compostela, where he established his court amid squalid surroundings in the small and already decaying settle-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> Printed in full in *Documentos inéditos . . . de América y Oceanía*, X, 52.

<sup>10</sup> No. 1 of the supplementary ordinances of March 19, which follow.

<sup>11</sup> Tello, *Crónica Miscelánea*, Cap. CLXII. Tello places the arrival early in 1549, but the documents printed in the Orozco y Jiménez collection agree on December 29, 1548.

<sup>12</sup> Orozco y Jiménez, *Colección de Documentos históricos inéditos o muy raros referentes al Arzobispado de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara, 1922), I, Doc. V, "Petición en que piden al Lic. Lebrón de Quinones que no se vaya a Compostela a asentar la Audiencia, sino en Guadalajara". Guadalajara had twenty *vecinos*, Compostela seven.

ment.<sup>13</sup> He was joined, early in 1549, by Contreras and by Martínez de la Marcha, who proceeded at once with the visita of the province, required by the sixteenth ordinance. La Marcha's report<sup>14</sup> contains a valuable detailed survey of Nueva Galicia, and especially of the newly discovered mines of Zacatecas, which were to play such an important part in transforming Nueva Galicia from a predominantly Indian, to a predominantly Spanish, area.

In 1551, Lebrón and Contreras both received commissions from the viceroy, in accordance with the cédula of 1550, to conduct visitas, Lebrón in Colima and Zacatula, Contreras in Ycatlán, Ameca, and the pueblos of Avalos. The commissions<sup>15</sup> laid special stress upon the necessity for punishing encomenderos who abused their rights, and both visitadores apparently showed excessive zeal or great want of tact in their conduct of cases. Lebrón's report especially<sup>16</sup> contains a formidable list of activities, including the liberation of slaves, the annulment of illegal encomiendas, and the formulation of charges and sentences against encomenderos for ill-treating their Indians, for pasturing their flocks upon Indian land, for extorting illegal services, and for collecting tributes unauthorized by official assessments. Feeling ran so high in encomendero circles against Lebrón and Contreras that, in 1556, the Spaniards of Nueva Galicia succeeded in arraigning them before a visitador from Mexico, upon charges of incompetence and immorality, and in securing their removal from office. With their departure, the practice of employing the oidores alcaldes mayores upon continual visitas outside their own province came to an end.<sup>17</sup>

Morones, the visitador who had condemned Lebrón and Contreras, remained in Nueva Galicia as an oidor until his death. It was chiefly at his urging, and that of the second bishop, Pedro de Ayala, that in 1560 a long awaited cédula authorized the removal of the audiencia

<sup>13</sup> For a graphic account of the squalor of Compostela, cf. Orozco y Jiménez, *op. cit.*, I, Doc. VII, "Interesante relación del Ilmo. Sr. Maraver al Rey", December 12, 1550.

<sup>14</sup> A.G.I. Sevilla: Simancas, Guadalajara, 66-5-14 (Cartas del Presidente y Oidores de la dicha Audiencia 1534-1576).

<sup>15</sup> 1551. A.G.I.: Patronato 181, Ro 22.

<sup>16</sup> 1554. A.G.I.: Patronato 20, No. 5, Ro 14.

<sup>17</sup> The viceroy, who held a high opinion of Lebrón de Quiñones, offered him another commission for a visita in Oaxaca; but Lebrón died before he could embark on his new duties. Contreras lived as "abogado de pobres" in Mexico for some time; but was eventually (after the death of Morones) reinstated as an oidor in New Galicia.

from Compostela to Guadalajara.<sup>18</sup> From that time, the audiencia became the dominant authority on the northwest frontier of the Spanish possessions; and in 1572, the peculiarities created by the ordinances of 1548 and the supplementary cédulas were removed, and the court became an audiencia of the conventional pattern, with a president holding powers of gobernación over his province, and with the title of *Chancillería*.<sup>19</sup>

The ordinances which follow were taken from the register of "Duplicados de Reales Cédulas" in the Mexican national archives. No complete copy has yet been brought to light in Seville; and the copy which Lebrón read to the assembled vecinos in the bishop's house at Guadalajara, on a December day in 1548, apparently disappeared in one of the disasters which have destroyed so many of the public records of that city.<sup>20</sup>

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INSTRUCCIÓN Y ORDENANZAS DE LOS OIDORES Y LOS DEMÁS OFICIALES DE LA  
AUDIENCIA DE LA CIUDAD DE COMPOSTELA, Y NUEVA GALICIA<sup>21</sup>

Don Carlos etc. . . . al Exmo principe Don Felipe, nuestro muy caro y amado nieto e hijo, y a los infantes, duques, prelados, marqueses, condes, ricos hombres, maestros de las órdenes, y a los de mi Consejo, y oidores de las nuestras Audiencias y Chancillerías, alcaldes, alguaciles de la nuestra casa corte, y alcaldes de los castillos y casas fuertes y llanas, y a todos los consejos, corregidores, alcaldes y alguaciles, regidores, caballeros, escuderos, oficiales y hombres buenos de todas las ciudades, villas, y lugares de nuestro nuevo reino de Galicia, que es en la Nueva España, de las nuestras Indias del mar océano, y a cada uno y cualquier de vos, salud y gracia. Sépades que Nos, deseando el bien y pro común del dicho nuevo reino, y porque nuestros súbditos y naturales que pidieren justicia la alcancen, ecelando el servicio de Dios nuestro señor, y bien y alivio de los dichos nuestros súbditos y de los naturales del dicho nuevo reino, y la paz y sosiego dél: hemos acordado de mandar proveer una nuestra Audiencia, que resida en la ciudad de Compostela que es en el dicho nuevo reino, en la cual haya cuatro oidores alcaldes

<sup>18</sup> Orozco y Jiménez, *op. cit.*, I, Doc. XIX.

<sup>19</sup> Tello, *op. cit.*, Cap. CXCLX.

<sup>20</sup> I am indebted for many of the references to documents in the Archivo General de Indias, to the courtesy of Professor Clarence H. Haring, who suggested this study, and to that of Mr. France V. Scholes, Professor Arthur S. Aiton, and Professor J. Lloyd Meham, in allowing me access to copies and photographs of manuscripts, the originals of which are not at present easily accessible.

<sup>21</sup> From Archivo General de la Nación, México, D. F. Duplicados de Reales Cédulas t. 1. f. 26.

mayores, como los hay en el reino de Galicia en estos reinos; y sean subalternados a la nuestra Audiencia que reside en la ciudad de México, los cuales dichos oidores en la expedición y despacho de los negocios que a la dicha Audiencia vinieren, mandamos guarden las ordenanzas siguientes.

i. Primeramente mandamos que la dicha Audiencia, cuanto la nuestra merced y voluntad fuere, resida en el dicho nuevo reino de Galicia en la dicha ciudad de Compostela en la cual haya cuatro oidores alcaldes mayores, que sean: el Licenciado de la Marcha; el Licenciado Lebrón de Quiñones; el Doctor Juan Meléndez de Sepúlveda; y el Licenciado Contreras; a los cuales damos poder cumplido para que juzguen y libren todas las causas civiles y criminales así a pedimiento de partes como de oficio, conforme a lo que en estas nuestras ordenanzas será contenido.

ii. Otrosí ordenamos y mandamos que los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores puedan conocer y conozcan en grado de apelación todas las causas civiles y criminales que ante ellos vinieren de cualesquier sentencias o mandamientos que hayan dado y pronunciado cualesquier otros alcaldes o jueces ordinarios de todo el dicho nuevo reino de Galicia, o cualquier dellos, de que según derecho y leyes de nuestros reinos hubiere lugar apelación; y las oír, librar, determinar en el dicho grado según que hallaren por justicia; pero si cual quiera de partes a quien tocarse se sintieren agraviados dellos y de sus sentencias y mandamientos, que puedan apelar de los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores, y les otorguen la apelación en los casos que de derecho hubiere lugar, para ante los nuestros oidores de la nuestra Audiencia Real que reside en la gran ciudad de Tenuxtitlan México en la dicha Nueva España, salvo si la causa principal fuere de trescientos pesos de oro de minas, o dende abajo, que en tal caso queremos y mandamos que no haya apelación dellos, mas que haya suplicación para ante ellos mismos; en grado de suplicación ellos todos cuatro conozcan y determinen la causa, y quede la dicha sentencia que en el dicho grado sobre esto dieren, no haya más apelación ni suplicación, y que sea ejecutada y tráda a debida ejecución.

iii. Otrosí mandamos que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores puedan conocer y conozcan en primera instancia en el lugar donde estuvieren con doce leguas al derredor, y esto mismo puedan conocer en todo el dicho nuevo reino de Galicia en primera instancia en los casos de corte, de que los dichos oidores de la dicha nuestra Audiencia de México podrían conocer según las leyes y ordenanzas de nuestros reinos, y si las partes, o cualquier dellos, se sintieren agraviados de sus mandamientos o sentencias, que puedan dellos apelar, y ellos les otorguen la apelación en el caso que hubiere lugar de derecho, para ante los dichos nuestros presidente y oidores de la dicha Audiencia de México, salvo si fuere el dicho pleito de la suma de los dichos trescientos pesos de oro de minas o dende abajo como dicho es.

iv. Otrosí que de las sentencias o mandamientos que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores dieren o hicieren en cualesquier causas criminales, si por ellos se infiere muerte civil o natural, que destos tales pueda haber y haya apelación para ante los dichos nuestros presidente y oidores que residen en la dicha nuestra Audiencia Real de la ciudad de México en el caso que lugar hubiere apelación, pero que en los pleitos que de los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores puedan apelar según dicho es para ante los dichos nuestros presidente y oidores de la nuestra Audiencia

de México, si ambas partes consintieren por auto ante el escribano de la causa, que ante ellos se siga en grado de suplicación, mandamos que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores en tal caso puedan conocer y conozcan de la dicha causa a consentimiento de partes en el dicho grado de suplicación, y que la sentencia que dieren y la determinación que hicieren sea habida como si se diese en grado de revista por el dicho nuestro presidente y oidores de la dicha nuestra Audiencia de México; pero que de las otras sentencias y mandamientos en las dichas causas criminales, que no haya apelación de los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores, salvo suplicación para ante ellos mismos en el caso que la hubiere, y de la sentencia que en el dicho grado de suplicación dieren, que no haya más grado de suplicación apelación, ni otro remedio ni recurso alguno, salvo que sea ejecutada.

v. Otrosí mandamos a los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores que no dex cartas algunas para entre partes, ni de su oficio, salvo cartas de justicia, que llaman las leyes cartas foreras, pero bien permitimos que en los casos que ellos vieren que cumplen, puedan dar cartas de amparo sobre bienes raíces en la forma acostumbrada en nuestra corte, y cartas iniciativas de jurisdicción para los jueces inferiores, con tanto que no sean las cartas de amparo de jurisdicción, ni de vasallos, ni de cosas tocantes a la corona Real.

vi. Otrosí mandamos a los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores que no pongan por sí alguaciles en el dicho nuevo reino de la Nueva Galicia, mas que usen con el alguacil mayor a quien nos proveyeremos del dicho oficio, conforme a la merced y provisión que de nos tuviere, y lleven los derechos cuatuplicados, de como se llevan en las nuestras Audiencias de España, ecepto en los días de ejecución, que esto mandamos, que el dicho alguacil lleve del primero ciento a cinco, y de los otros cientos a dos y medio por cada ciento y no más, hasta que nos proveamos otra cosa en contrario.

vii. Otrosí que los dichos escribanos que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores hubieren de tener, por ante quien pasen los autos que hicieren, que sean nombrados y puestos por nos, y que éstos lleven los derechos cuatuplicados, de como se llevan en las nuestras Audiencias y Chancillerías de España, y que para esto se les dé arancel.

viii. Otrosí por cuanto ante los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores muchas veces se tratan pleitos de importancia y tales que sean menester enviar receptores para que reciban los testigos, ordenamos y mandamos que en el Audiencia de los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores haya cuatro escribanos receptores, los cuales sean los que nos nombraremos por nuestras cédulas y que se les dé salario por cada día que se ocuparen en las probanzas un peso de oro fino demás y allende de sus derechos de las escrituras, que ante estos y no ante otros algunos se hagan las dichas probanzas, salvo en el caso que estos estuvieren ocupados en otras cosas y hubiere necesidad de proveerse primero que ellos se desocupen.

ix. Otrosí mandamos que los escribanos que por tiempo serán en la dicha Audiencia escriban los autos de su mano y que vayan personalmente a la notificación y ejecución de las sentencias, mayormente a las criminales, y lleven los derechos conforme al dicho arancel que les será dado cuatuplicados como dicho es de lo que se lleva en las dichas Audiencias de los dichos reinos de España, y lleven lo que les fuere debido hasta el día que lo reciben, y no reciban cosa alguna adelantada, y pongan los derechos en las espaldas de los procesos y cartas y

mandamientos que hicieren, so pena de un peso de oro fino por cada vez que lo dejaren de hacer.

x. Otrosí mandamos que los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores den el salario que les pareciere justo a un verdugo y pregonero que esté y resida donde ellos estuvieren, y le hagan pagar de las penas de nuestra cámara en que ellos condenaren.

xi. Otrosí mandamos a los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores que hagan buscar una persona cual les pareciere porque les haga relación de los pleitos que ante ellos pendieren, y que lleve los derechos cuatuplicados de como los llevan los relatores de las dichas nuestras Audiencias Reales de España.

xii. Otrosí que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores no pongan ni apliquen ni lleven para sí penas algunas, ni para sus oficios ni para sus familiares, ni sus oficiales las pongan ni lleven para los dichos oidores ni para sí, sino que todas las penas pertenecientes a la nuestra cámara y cualesquier otras que ellos sentenciaren las hagan poner en depósito en poder de uno de los escribanos, el cual tenga cargo de las cobrar, y cobre para acudir a nuestro tesorero o a quien su poder hubiere con las penas pertenecientes a nuestra cámara, y para gastar las otras por mandamiento de los dichos oidores en las obras y cosas para que fueren aplicadas.

xiii. Otrosí que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores tengan cargo de mirar por las cosas contenidas en esta instrucción y provisión que llevan, para que las ejecuten y hagan guardar.

xiv. Otrosí si alguno fuere a emplazar a cualquier consejo o vecino dél por alguno de los casos de corte, que lo pueda emplazar ante los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores, y que no lo pueda emplazar ante los dichos nuestros presidente y oidores de la dicha Audiencia de México, salvo si el caso fuere de gran importancia, así como sobre bienes de mayorazgo, sobre vasallos o fortaleza o fortalezas o sobre muertes o heridas de caballero principal o sobre otros semejantes casos, que entonces sea en la elección del autor o acusador, o intentar o proseguir la causa ante los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores, o en la dicha nuestra Audiencia de México.

xv. Otrosí porque podría acaecer que en el dicho nuevo reino de Galicia unas personas hagan fuerzas a otras por donde las despojen de sus bienes, muebles y raíces que poseen, los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores conociendo de las causas y queriéndolo remediar, mandarán por sus sentencias y mandamientos que esta fuerza se desate y el despojado sea restituido, y el despojador querrá apelar desto, y si el despojado hubiese de venir a nuestra corte y chancillería que reside en la ciudad de México a seguir la apelación antes que fuese restituido, recibiría mucho agravio y podría ser que dejaría perder lo suyo por no seguir el pleito, o por no lo poder seguir, por ende mandamos que si la fuerza que fuere hecha fuere notoria y manifiesta o averiguada, y los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores sentenciaren sobre ello y la mandaren deshacer, y el despojador apelar, y los dichos oidores le otorgaren apelación, que sin embargo de la tal apelación y del otorgamiento della, puedan ejecutar lo que mandaren, o poner en secuestro los bienes sobre que se dicieren que se cometió la fuerza o el despojo, ya que estén de manifiesto, hasta que sea determinada la causa en la dicha nuestra Audiencia Real de México, y que desta sentencia o secuestación, ni del mandamiento de secuestar, no haya ni pueda haber apelación ni otro remedio ni recurso alguno, mas que todavía se haga la dicha ejecución sin embargo de la dicha apelación como dicho es.

xvi. Otrosí porque nuestra justicia real sea mejor ejecutada en ese dicho nuevo reino de Galicia, mandamos que los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores anden por tanda visitando los pueblos, ciudades, villas, y lugares del dicho nuevo reino de Galicia por administrar la justicia donde vieren que es menester y conviene, de manera que siempre anda uno visitando, para saber y ser informados qué delitos se cometen y cómo son tratados los naturales de aquella tierra y si se cumplan y guarden las ordenanzas e instrucciones que para su buen tratamiento están hechas o se hicieren, y el oidor que así se fuere a hacer la dicha visitación traiga de todo ello relación e información a la dicha Audiencia para que juntos en ella se provea lo que sea justicia, que si conviniere que de presente se provea remedio alguno, lo pueda hacer, y haga como viere que más conviene al servicio de Dios nuestro señor; y determinando causas civiles y criminales, con que en las civiles de treinta mil maravedises arriba, otorgue las apelaciones para la dicha Audiencia de la Nueva Galicia, y ejecutándolas de allí abajo, y en las criminales otorgue en todas las apelaciones para la dicha Audiencia, y si algún caso acaeciére a que deban enviar con sus cartas, que lo hagan según y de la forma y manera que lo hacen y proveen los dichos nuestros presidente y oidores de la Audiencia de México.

xvii. Otrosí mandamos que los dichos nuestros oidores alcaldes mayores hagan Audiencia todos los días que no fueren fiestas tres horas en la mañana cada día, y siendo necesario, otras dos horas en los tres días de la semana, conviene a saber lunes, miércoles, y viernes, y visiten la cárcel cada sábado en la tarde, así la suya como la de la ciudad, villa o lugar donde estuvieren, y en todo lo demás guarden las nuestras leyes y las leyes y premáticas destos Reinos en cuanto no fuere en contrario dellas.

xviii. Otrosí mandamos que estas dichas nuestras ordenanzas sean luego pregonadas en la ciudad de Compostela, las cuales sean guardadas tanto cuanto la nuestra voluntad fuere.

Fecha en Alcalá de Henares a 13 días del mes de enero<sup>m</sup> de 1548 años—Yo el Rey—yo Francisco de Ledesma secretario de su cesarea y católica Magestad la hice escribir por mandado de Su Alteza—El Marqués—El Lic. Gutiérrez Velázquez—El Lic. Salmerón—Doctor Hernán Pérez—registrada Ochoa de Luyandos por Chanciller—Ochoa de Luyandos.

El Príncipe: Por cuanto Nos hemos proveído una nuestra Audiencia en el nuevo reino de Galicia en que ha de haber cuatro oidores alcaldes mayores, a los cuales hemos mandado dar ordenanzas de la manera que han de usar sus oficios, y de qué cosas han de conocer, y porque en ellas va declarado si han de entender en las cosas de gobernación, y conviene que estén advertidos y i. sepan lo que en esto y en otras cosas han de hacer; por la presente declaramos y mandamos que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores que ahora son o de aquí adelante fueren, en el distrito que ahora tienen y les fuere señalado adelante entiendan en todas las cosas de la gobernación y en proveer oficios de corregimientos según y como lo hacen y pueden hacer el presidente y oidores de la Audiencia Real de los Confines, sin que en ello se les ponga impedimento alguno.

<sup>m</sup> According to the date on the MS.; *Recopilación*, Lib. 11, Tit. XV, Ley 7 gives February 13.

- ii. Ytem: mandamos que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores traigan vara de la nuestra justicia según y como la traen los oidores de la Audiencia Real de la Nueva España.
- iii. Y porque los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores tienen necesidad de portero en la dicha Audiencia, que esté en ella como lo hay en la Audiencia de México, por la presente damos licencia a los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores para que ellos por ahora, hasta que por nos otra cosa se mande, puedan proveer un portero en la dicha Audiencia, al cual le señalen el salario que se da al portero que reside en la Audiencia Real de México, el cual dicho portero tenemos por bien que lleve los derechos que suele y acostumbra llevar el portero de la dicha Audiencia Real de México, y que los lleve cuatuplicados como han de llevar los escribanos de la dicha Audiencia.
- iv. Otrosí porque por las dichas ordenanzas está por nos mandado que los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores anden por tanta visitando las provincias sujetas a la dicha Audiencia, y podría ser que cuando uno de los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores haya de ir a hacer la dicha visita, no pueda ir con él alguno de los escribanos ni receptores de la dicha Audiencia, y conviene llevar escribano ante quien haga la dicha visitación, por la presente declaramos y mandamos que no habiendo escribanos de la dicha Audiencia in receptores della que llevar consigo, que en tal caso nombre el oidor que así hubiere de ir, al escribano que le parece, para que vaya con él a entender en el suso dicho, al cual le señale por la dicha Audiencia el salario que pareciere que se le debe por cada un día de los que en ello se ocupare.
- v. Ytem que por causa de no haber en la ciudad de Compostela del dicho nuevo reino de Galicia donde ha de residir la dicha Audiencia casa alguna de Su Magestad donde se pueda hacer, por la presente damos licencia a los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores para que entre tanto que por nos se da orden como se haga la dicha cosa, ellos alquilen en la dicha ciudad de Compostela una casa cual a ellos pareciere que conviene para en que la dicha Audiencia se haga; que por ésta mandamos a los oficiales del dicho nuevo reino de Galicia que paguen el dicho alquiler en cada un año, que con el traslado de este capítulo signado de escribano público con nombramiento de los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores y carta de pago de la persona a quien lo pagaren; mandamos que les sea recibido y pasado en cuenta lo que en ello se montare.
- vi. Otrosí porque nuestra voluntad es que se tome residencia a los alcaldes ordinarios y a todas las personas que han tenido cargo y administración de justicia en el dicho nuevo reino, para saber cómo y de qué manera han usado y ejercido sus oficios, si no la hubieren hecho; la cual residencia se les tome conforme a las leyes de nuestros reinos.
- vii. Otrosí mandamos a los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores que tomen cuenta a los nuestros oficiales del dicho nuevo reino de Galicia, y a las otras personas que por ellos y por los otros oficiales que en ello hayan sido y hayan tenido cargo dellos y no han dado cuenta hasta que la comenzaron a tomar, y el alcance que se les hiciere lo hagan cobrar, y poner en el arca de las tres llaves, y mandamos a los dichos oidores alcaldes mayores y a otras cualesquier nuestras justicias de las nuestras Indias, islas, y tierra firme del mar océano que guarden y cumplan esta nuestra cédula y declaraciones della en todo y por todo según y como en ellas se ordena, y contra el tenor y forma della no vayan ni pasen ni consientan ir ni pasar en manera alguna. Fecha en Alcalá de Henares a 19 días del mes de marzo de 1548.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil.* By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. 414. \$3.50.)

It is a pleasure to welcome a book on Brazil by an author who through facility in the handling of the language and years of patient effort has crossed the threshold which divides Spanish from Portuguese America. The Portuguese language differs sufficiently from the Spanish to render even the better Hispanic American scholars of the United States dependent on English and Spanish works for their study of things Brazilian. These works are shaped by the political and social viewpoint of Spanish America; they are the product of foreigners who look on Brazil from across a frontier more fundamental than a national boundary. It is seldom that a scholar of the United States penetrates far enough into the world of Brazil to throw off the yoke of Spanish America. In her biography of Dom Pedro II, Doctor Williams has achieved this distinction.

The man and the period have long demanded treatment in English. A check of the extensive and sound list of secondary sources cited by Doctor Williams in her bibliography reveals only one title in English which bears primarily on either the person or the period, an article in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* by Professor Percy A. Martin on the causes of the collapse of the Brazilian Empire. Doctor Williams has shown herself to be, together with Professor Martin, the scholar in the United States best prepared to fill the need. Her understanding of Brazilian history and her habits of meticulous research prepared her to utilize to the fullest the family archives of the Braganças which were opened to her in France and to derive the greatest profit from her study in Rio de Janeiro.

The book, primarily a biography, is quite as valuable, perhaps more so, as a study of the period from 1832 to 1889. Doctor Williams is most effective when she is fitting Dom Pedro into a movement such as the Paraguayan War or the Revolution of 1889. The chapter "Among the Intellectuals", where she is fitting him into a group of literary and scientific men, is equally as well done. Her style is at its

best also when she is pre-occupied with painting the larger canvas of the background against which Dom Pedro is silhouetted. The lucid, quick-moving prose of the section dealing with the fall of the empire sweeps the biography to its climax; chapters on his family life and his exile are less effective.

The figure which emerges from her study is a man of personal integrity aware of the obligations inherent in the function of emperorship. He perceived and accepted modern western European ideas of progress. His sense of duty impelled him to attempt to put into practice, in a society and natural environment unprepared for and incapable of accepting them, his ideals of integrity and the economic practices of the United States, France, and England. He promoted ambitious irrigation projects in Ceará; he favored industrialization and modern ways of banking and finance; he sought to clean up the judicial system and abolish corruption in politics; he furthered railroads and means of rapid communication; and yet, as Doctor Williams admits, at the end of nearly fifty years of rule as an emperor and patriarch, many glaring weaknesses still existed. Confronted by her task as a biographer, Doctor Williams emphasizes what Dom Pedro tried to accomplish, leaving to such social historians as Gilberto Freyre the task of explaining the nature of the society which the emperor dreamed of reforming.

The kindly, conscientious, magnanimous Pedro was by no means a colorful person. To give him life and vitality, to make him a vivid reality in the mind of the reader, constituted a difficult task for an historian whose imagination was constantly checked by the requirements of documentary proof and standards of scholarship. And yet the gradual advance toward the inexorable turn of the wheel of fortune, whereby the emperor fell into penurious exile, tinges the biography with the atmosphere of a Greek tragedy. Dom Pedro is less a living person than the embodiment of ideas and practices at odds with the particular society which he seeks to influence.

Doctor Williams's study thus becomes partly a biography, partly an evaluation of Brazilian society as it developed during the last century. The dual nature of her task and limitations of space forced omissions in the latter phase of the work. In the chapter on education, for instance, one might wish for information concerning the curricula, the routine, and teaching methods in vogue; or in the chapter on the political system, for more concrete details as to how the

machine operated. Perhaps Doctor Williams will turn more specifically to the social history of Brazil, rendering to the English-speaking world the same service Gilberto Freyre has been rendering to Portuguese scholars. The signal service which she has rendered in the present work demands an encore.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

Duke University.

*Dicionário bio-bibliográfico Brasileiro ilustrado*. Volume I. (Aarão Garcia-Azevedo Castro). By J. F. VELHO SOBRINHO. (Rio de Janeiro: Editores-Impressores Irmaãos Pongetti, 1937. Pp. 704. 60 milréis, bound.)

Students of things Brazilian have long felt a crying need for a comprehensive and authoritative biographical dictionary of outstanding personalities both living and dead. Up to the appearance of the work under review they have had to fall back on the compendia of Innocencio Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez* (Lisboa, 1858) and Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1883). Both Innocencio and Sacramento Blake have long been out of print and are hard to obtain. The student of history has supplemented these sources of information by recourse to the *Catalogo anotado dos livros sobre o Brasil* by J. C. Rodrigues (Rio de Janeiro, 1907). Only the first part of Rodrigues's invaluable catalogue, that dealing with the period 1492-1822 was published, and it is also rare and out of print.

The appearance of this new dictionary will render Innocencio, Sacramento Blake, and Rodrigues largely obsolete. With unremitting diligence the author has been exploring for many years the lives and achievements of those Brazilians who have contributed to the greatness of their country. Few persons of importance, either living or dead, have escaped his dragnet. The biographies are scholarly, comprehensive, and well-written. Especially complete and accurate are the bibliographies. All of the works of a given author are listed, including the date and place of publication, the name of the publisher, and the number of pages. Likewise, all of the relevant data are given in the immense number of articles included in the bibliographies.

When complete the work will encompass sixteen volumes, each of some seven hundred double-column pages. There is a fair number of illustrations. The dictionary has received the *imprimatur* of the

Academia Brasileira de Letras which conferred a prize upon the author. Sr. Velho Sobrinho informed the writer of this review that the manuscript of the other sixteen volumes is complete and that a subsidy from the government assures its publication. Volume II is expected to appear in 1938 and the remainder will follow rapidly.

Those outside of Brazil who utilize this invaluable work will be at first slightly disconcerted by the alphabetical arrangement. The author follows a usage, which happily is losing ground in Brazil, of listing the persons in his book by their given instead of their family names. As a consequence many persons of note, whom one would never seek under "A" in an ordinary dictionary, appear in the first volume (*e.g.* Alcides Bezerra, the scholarly director of the National Archives). This confusion will not be entirely obviated until the appearance of the last volume, composed entirely of indices.

The term "indispensable" has been bandied about so much as to be drained of most of its meaning. But in the present instance it is more than justified. All serious students of Brazilian history, be it political, literary, or cultural, will wish to have this work at their elbow. It may be obtained directly from the author, 872 Rua Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

*Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America.* By GORDON IRELAND. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938. Pp. xi, 345. Pocket Map. \$4.50.)

This is a reference work covering a vast field. It is organized in three major divisions: mainland boundary disputes and adjustments; disputes in reference to island possessions; and existing treaty relations bearing upon the settlement of such disagreements. The volume also contains useful appendices treating the subjects of *Uti Possidetis* and marine boundaries, and in addition to a large pocket map it contains twenty-three other maps illustrating specific boundary problems.

Professor Ireland endeavors to "approach the ideal of a compilation at once easy to read and useful to consult". His notes are intended to serve a double purpose: to indicate his authority for the facts stated and to suggest starting points for further investigation. Judged strictly by the purposes which he set out to accomplish, his book may be pronounced a decided success.

It is necessary, however, for the scholar always to bear in mind the limitations of all handbooks of this type. Covering a vast field, they must be based upon published sources and must treat a multitude of subjects in barest outline. Professor Ireland displays impartiality and caution on every page, but he could not possibly have grasped all the facts, nor even many of the fundamental facts, relating to some sixty territorial disputes. Perhaps no single individual could have done that in a quarter of a century. The task would have required the examination not merely of all published sources but of a tremendous bulk of personal and diplomatic correspondence in national archives and in private possession.

It is true, however, that Professor Ireland has presented the basis for many a monograph. And it is to be hoped that he or someone else with equal patience and industry may prepare a similar volume for the rest of Hispanic America.

J. FRED RIPPY.

University of Chicago.

*The Republics of South America. A Report by a Study Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.* By PHILIP GUEDALLA, CHAIRMAN and ASSOCIATES. (London: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. x, 374. \$8.50.)

This volume published by the Council of Chatham House is the work of a group of scholars consisting of Philip Guedalla, chairman, C. E. W. Duley, K. G. Grubb, Mrs. L. E. Joyce, J. D. G. Kellock, and R. H. Kinvig. They had assistance from a considerable number of authorities, both English and American, who gave advice and criticism on parts of the work pertaining to their particular fields. The actual drafting of the bulk of the report was done by J. A. Gatehouse and R. J. M. Wight, secretaries to the group. The report provides a condensed survey of the geographic, historical, economic, social, and cultural aspects of South America. In general it does not discuss the countries individually but under each heading indicates the highlights regarding them.

The distribution of space to the various phases of the story is well balanced. Geography, including physical features and ethnic factors, occupies 80 pages, history 91 pages, economic development 72 pages, cultural progress 60 pages, and international relations 27 pages. Under the first heading the various physical characteristics, including

climatic conditions and vegetation and their influence on the life of the people, are presented. Communication, which has always been a great problem in the development of South America owing to geographic factors, is discussed under the headings of rivers, railroads, roads, and airways. The problems of population resulting from the composite racial factors are set forth. Three chapters are given over to the history; one deals with the period of pre-conquest, European discovery and conquest, and the colonial era; another portrays the situation just before independence and chronicles the rise of the several republics; the third gives a brief summary of the most recent history emphasizing the political situation of the ten nations of South America. There is a general chapter on the main lines of economic development, followed by others which treat the problems of land tenure, labor conditions and labor movements, and financial development which includes foreign investments, public finance, and banking. Two chapters on cultural matters deal with religion and the Church and the problems of education. The final section of the book is devoted to international relations, including those between the South American countries themselves and those between them and Europe and the United States. Pan-Americanism and the relations with the League of Nations are also considered. An appendix on trade and industry gives basic statistics for these phases of South American life.

There are numerous maps and statistical tables in the volume which add to its usefulness. A formal bibliography would have been an addition, although some of the more obvious works are cited in the footnotes. Also it is noted that much use, especially with reference to economic matters is made of reports of the Department of Overseas Trade. It is evident from the foregoing statement that the group preparing this volume has succeeded well in accomplishing the task it set before itself of presenting with respect to South America "within the limitations of a single volume the elements of its present situation and the past circumstances to which it is due".

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

*Latin America: Its Place in World Life.* By SAMUEL GUY INMAN.  
(Chicago and New York: Willett, Clark & Company, 1937. Pp. vi,  
462. \$3.75.)

"Here", writes Dr. Inman,

an endeavor is made to present in one volume an outline of the history and an interpretation of the life of Hispanic America—a volume one might tuck under his arm as he starts out, figuratively or literally, to visit these Southern neighbors.

Dr. Inman has not sought to present a penetrating analysis for the economist or a new body of material for the historian and political scientist. The book offers, successfully, a sweeping survey of Hispanic American development that deserves wide popularity among those who seek a short-cut to a better understanding of the region. Inman's *Latin America* stands comparison well with the growing mass of literature in the field. Missing are the bitterness and belligerency of the brilliant Beals, the splendid prose of the superficial Strode, and the doubtful myths and stories with which Rosita Forbes padded her acute observations of the southern countries.

With a knowledge based on long residence and travel in Hispanic America and acquaintance with people in all classes, Inman presents a kindly, quiet, hopeful picture. Here is Hispanic America as he would like it to be. He admits that for Hispanic America the road to democracy is a "hard road" but he finds it disagreeable to point to the various examples of countries on the wrong road. His "openly acknowledged admiration of much of Southern life" causes him to emphasize the traditional contrast between the materialistic North American and his southern neighbor of idealistic urge and intellectual bent. The interesting sections on the conference at Buenos Aires, on communism, and on "What Will the New Order Be" are not quite realistic enough to provide an answer to the question he put hopefully in his introduction:

Can Latin America contribute anything to the solution of . . . major problems troubling the world today?

The need for intensive research in the field of Hispanic American economic and social history is so great that Dr. Inman's superb knowledge of the field would be much better utilized in the directing of such efforts than in the production of general works which can more easily be obtained from prolific journalists.

Useful bibliographies are attached to each section and there is an index.

SIMON G. HANSON.

University of Louisville.

*Crusaders of the Jungle.* By J. FRED RIPPY and JEAN THOMAS NELSON. Illustrated by WILLIS PHYSIOC. (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press. [1936]. Pp. x, 401. Map. \$3.50.)

The title of this book is happily chosen. The authors include in its four hundred pages, the history and background of the lesser known mission fields of South America during colonial times—the inland jungle territories from Guiana to Colombia and from Ecuador to the region of La Plata. The Jesuit reductions, the most famous of all, are not treated, for, as the authors correctly state, “they deserve a book for themselves” (p. viii). The term “Crusaders” is justified because

in many respects the Spanish conquest and occupation of America was a crusade, and the term crusaders may certainly be applied to those zealous Catholic padres who entered the frontier plains, forests, and jungles of South America in search of souls for God and the Roman Catholic Church (p. vii).

Pages 1-101 deal with the *Setting*; pages 104-401 with the *Crusade* proper. The *Setting* deals with a general description and background of the mission field: the relation of Church and State; the condition of the Indians; organization, methods, and motives of the missionaries. The *Crusade* considers the history, statistics, personnel, and environment of the particular fields of Cumaná, Caracas, Meta-Casanare, Guiana, Upper Orinoco, Maynas, Charcas, and Paraguay. To this are added chapters on the Dutch, Carib, and Portuguese menace. Finally, there are several chapters of interpretation and appraisal on the frontier missionary movement.

Students of colonial Hispanic-American history concerning South America have largely confined their attention to the better known mission fields of Peru, Ecuador, Chile, and the Jesuit reductions. But *Crusaders of the Jungle* fills a want that has long been felt anent the minor fields of the vast southern continent. From a multitude of sources the authors have endeavored to do this, without making the reader lose himself in a maze of details on dates, personalities, and facts, that would be as unconquerable as an Amazonian jungle.

In two respects the book shows weakness, without, however, de-

stroying its essential value: namely, in the matter of its use of ecclesiastical terminology and its understanding of Catholic lore. Much of the mission ideology is, indeed, sympathetically understood and correctly expressed, yet to the reader versed in the field, it appears the authors failed to reach the proper depth and rounded-out evaluation of all they handled. Some of the terminology (a minor part, perhaps, but enough to cause surprise), is unpardonable and could have been remedied by reference to the standard *Catholic Dictionary*, even if *viva-voce* consultation was not desirable. Ecclesiastical terminology and missionary ideology must be considered *sine qua non* auxiliary sciences to history in a work of this nature. This is written with gentility and restraint and without prejudice to the great value of the greater portion of the book. Such shortcomings can best be remedied by referring the manuscript to one versed in the technicalities of the mission field. Similarly a missionary writing on law or botany, unless he were specially qualified, would be expected to consult experts in those fields.

While illustrations are highly desirable, their tone and artistry should conform more to the intended seriousness of the text. A few of these are needlessly offensive to good taste especially since the drawings "are not intended to be exact representations" (p. viii).

MAYNARD GEIGER, O. F. M.

Old Mission, Santa Barbara, Calif.

*Oliver Pollock: the Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot.* By JAMES ALTON JAMES. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. xiii, 376. \$4.00.)

It would be exaggeration to say that historians have entirely neglected Oliver Pollock, for as long ago as Winsor and Gayarré his services to the American patriot cause were extolled. Yet it remained for Professor James to present an adequate biography of this Irish-American who has been aptly called the financier of the war in the west.

On the eve of the revolution, Pollock was a merchant at New Orleans. Earlier trading activities in the West Indies had introduced him to the Spaniards and through the patronage of Alejandro O'Reilly he had gained the particular good-will of the Louisiana officials. He seems to have been the most successful business man in Louisiana and his fortune was exceeded by few on the Atlantic sea-

board. His first revolutionary service was, as agent for Virginia, to arrange for the shipment of military supplies to the patriots. He was largely responsible for the measure of success attained by Willing's expedition, the first American attempt to gain control of the west. He inclined Governor Gálvez to marked partiality toward the Americans and subsequently served as his aide-de-camp in the Lower Mississippi campaign. George Rogers Clark freely admitted that without Pollock's financial support the Old Northwest could not have been captured or held for the United States.

The end of the war found Pollock's entire fortune pledged to cover his official expenditures and Pollock the holder of obligations of the United States and the State of Virginia to the tune of more than \$200,000. How Pollock spent his remaining years endeavoring to recoup his fortune and to get his claims recognized and paid is admirably recounted in this volume. By extensive search in American and English repositories the author has uncovered materials that are particularly illuminating on this part of Pollock's career. The unhappy story of delays and disappointments, of resolutions of congress and of the Virginia Assembly praising Pollock's indispensable services, but of extremely tardy meeting of the obligations, is told with effective restraint.

Since Pollock was a resident of Spanish Louisiana before and throughout the war, since important parts of his subsequent activities were at Spanish New Orleans and Havana, and since Spanish officials took frequent cognizance of his affairs throughout his career, the Spanish archives are indicated as a significant source for a study such as this. Such materials, however, seem to have been utilized only in so far as their contents have been revealed in the publications of other researchers or as transcripts were available in the Ayer Collection. In consequence, a number of aspects of Pollock's work are described more sketchily than might otherwise have been the case. His relations with Willing, for example, might well have been treated in greater detail. Analysis of Gálvez's coöperation, the reasons for it, and the manifestations of it, might have been pushed further. The military operations emanating from New Orleans, in which Pollock's part was not inconsequential, merit part of the space devoted to a rehearsal of the history of Clark and the northwest. A minor point, but significant, is that the map of the revolution in the west does not show the Lower Mississippi campaign of 1779 in which Pollock participated.

On two scores in particular this book is extremely valuable. One, of course, is that attention is at last focused upon Pollock as a real revolutionary hero. The other is the forceful case advanced for the significance of the west in the revolutionary war. Professor James maintains that Clark's military exploits and Pollock's financial and diplomatic achievements (and the reviewer would add the Spanish victories on the Gulf Coast) not only contributed toward the success of the revolution but also won for the United States the Cis-Mississippi West and paved the way for subsequent expansion beyond the river. A documentary volume, which doubtless will further corroborate this thesis, is promised.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY.

University of California at Los Angeles.

*Catalonia Infelix.* By E. ALLISON PEERS. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. xxiv, 326. \$3.00.)

The author of *The Spanish Tragedy* has written another timely work on suffering Spain, this time about that "wealthy, turbulent corner" of the Peninsula, Catalonia, the history of which, until recent dramatic events, has been largely a closed book to the outside world. As an enthusiastic student of Catalonian culture and language, a frequent visitor and lecturer in that region, and possessing familiarity with the local idiom to which numerous excellent translations of Catalan literary works bear witness, Professor Peers would seem to have a better equipment for writing the history of that troubled area than almost any other foreign observer. It is too much, however, to expect objectivity at the present time in even so careful a scholar as the professor of Spanish at the University of Liverpool; and readers of his earlier book are well aware of his preferences and sympathies in the Spanish Civil War. In the present work, he is somewhat torn by his belief in Catalonian autonomy possible only under a decentralized Spanish government and his cherished regard for "traditional" values which the rigidly centralized and absolutist government of Franco, he thinks, will restore. Professor Peers professes a deep and abiding love for the Catalan people but it is safe to assume that he means only the conservative, scholarly, and ecclesiastical elements with whom he has associated. Like a good, middle-class Briton, he mistrusts the masses and realizes that they must be kept in their place even if their situation is intolerable by any twentieth century standards.

These limitations prevent him from attempting to analyze conditions which drove so many of the proletariat despairingly into the ranks of the Syndicalists, Anarchists, and Communists. The passionate violence of these underprivileged elements reacting to the chaos precipitated by a military rebellion of a small group of disloyal generals horrifies Professor Peers far more, apparently, than the calculated cruelty of systematic bombings of great cities and large towns with their indiscriminate slaughter of women and children by these same militarists supported by a host of Moorish, Italian, and German mercenaries.

The present work is divided into two parts or books. The first traces the history of Catalonia from before 1137 to 1860 and occupies a little more than one third of the volume. Except for the illuminating passages on early literature and learning, this part is rather dull reading since Professor Peers does not break away from the old style of writing history in terms of kings and counts, whose filiation is frequently confusing. If history must be presented in this fashion to the general public to which this book is directed, genealogical charts or tables would facilitate comprehension.

The remaining two thirds of this volume narrate events from 1860 to 1937 and the account becomes easier to follow. This part is undoubtedly the most useful and informing. One is made inescapably aware of the amazing stupidity and blindness of Spain's rulers down through the ages toward this rich corner of the Peninsula. Professor Peers points out so clearly the folly of the ruthless suppression of every manifestation of individuality in perhaps the most individualistic branch of a highly individualistic race by the absolutism of centralized Madrid governments that one is left to wonder why, despite this, he desires a Franco triumph which insures a repetition of the age-long injustice and error. He himself admits that not until the advent of the Second Republic in 1931 were the legitimate aspirations of the Catalonian people nearing realization but, notwithstanding his apparent sympathy with the Catalan longing for autonomy, he favors submission to a Franco-imposed government with its restoration of remote control, economic privileges for the few, ecclesiastical domination and, presumably, the suppression of the Catalan language and culture for which a gallant people have so long gallantly struggled.

*Catalonia Infelix* is informative and valuable because at present there is almost no literature in English devoted exclusively to the history of this northern region of Spain. Its value, however, seems likely

to be transitory and ephemeral because the book was hastily prepared in a period when, perhaps, an objective discussion was impossible, certainly for one of the conservative, not to say, reactionary predilections of its author.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Larchmont, N. Y.

*America's Stake in international Investments.* By CLEONA LEWIS, assisted by KARL T. SCHLOTTERBECK. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1938. Pp. xvi, 710. \$4.00.

The story of investments of foreigners in the United States and of American citizens in foreign countries is most interesting. Miss Lewis has brought together in *America's Stake in International Investments* a wealth of information on this subject which gives the most complete picture yet presented.

The first part of the volume contains the account of foreign capital employed in the development of the United States. This includes the borrowing for the establishment of independence, that for railroad expansion, and industrial development, as well as investments in foreign controlled enterprises. It also deals with both national and local government bonds sold abroad and the defaults on some of those issues. It concludes with a study of the investments in connection with the World War and afterwards. The importance of the foreign contribution to the building of the republic, together with the often unfortunate results to the investors, is detailed.

The second part discusses investments of the United States abroad from meager beginnings through the period when we were a debtor nation down to the present when the position of the world's greatest creditor has been reached. Both direct and portfolio investments are analyzed and summarized. The material is arranged under the various types of holdings with specific information regarding the several foreign countries given under each heading. One of the concluding chapters summarizes the whole matter of the creditor-debtor position of the United States, and another discusses especially the issues involved in connection with the international migration of capital in the future. There are many tables and graphs throughout the volume which serve to visualize the story, and in the appendices is found abundant statistical information.

While of a general character, the book is of special value to the

student of Hispanic American history, for it gives an account of our economic interests there and then shows clearly their relationship to the whole foreign stake of the United States. No investments by Hispanic Americans in the United States are noted. Investments by Americans in the nations to the south of us first took place early in the last century, but they were not especially developed until after 1900 and some phases only became important after the World War. Beginning with direct commercial investments, the Americans gradually entered into many other lines of activity, including mining of gold, silver, copper, and other metals, oil production, railways, agricultural enterprises, banking, manufacturing, and operation of public utilities. The investment of the United States in some lines, such as sugar, was made entirely in Hispanic America. The importance of the direct investments in Hispanic America is shown by the fact that of an estimated total of 7.2 billions of dollars of capital employed in foreign countries in 1935, our citizens had 3.3 billions placed in the republics south of the Rio Grande. The story of the portfolio holdings, including loans to governments and sub-divisions thereof, is not too pleasant, particularly since the World War. It has been estimated that of a total of nearly 8 billions of dollars of foreign bonds issued in the United States 22½ per cent were of the Hispanic American countries. At the end of 1935, about 1.5 billions were outstanding, of which more than three-fourths were in default. Numerous issues have been scaled down through adjustments arranged between the governments and committees of bondholders.

With painstaking care, Miss Lewis has assembled the facts regarding the foreign stake of the United States, and has produced a volume of great value for the student and general reader.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

*Utopia in Uruguay. Chapters in the Economic History of Uruguay.*

By SIMON G. HANSON. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. ix, 262. \$3.50.)

Factual analyses of current developments in Hispanic American countries are rare. This one for Uruguay, the social experiment station of South America, is excellent. It is, of course, largely a study of the measures sponsored by the great leader of the republic, José Batlle y Ordóñez, and of their operation.

Though there was in Uruguay no background of political experience or of stability in public affairs which gave these social experiments promise of success, they have been, the author concludes, remarkably successful. State corporations in the fields of insurance, banking, utilities, railways, and port management have shown good accomplishment. Legislation on hours of labor, minimum wage, employer's liability, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions established standards without equal in any other Hispanic American country, though in the last two fields enthusiasm went so far that revision of the first objectives has become necessary.

Batlle's policy was to create an "independent" Uruguay, one which should be free from reliance on foreign capital. To this end, public corporations were created which were given monopoly power in their own fields. These bodies, as originally set up, were to a large degree independent of government control and came to operate much as private corporations. Their independence, it appears, explained in large measure their success. As social experiments broadened, political influences brought demands that they contribute from their "profits" to general public expenditures. Even before the world economic crisis, some of the enterprises were evidently beginning to suffer from the intrusion of politics.

The author gives a critical study of the effects of the adventures in state socialism. On the whole, he concludes that foreign capital has been fairly treated in spite of the announced purpose to lessen its influence. There have been no abrupt expropriations of foreign property. On the other hand, in some cases taxes and legislation have made the returns on foreign investments discouragingly low, though the earnings compare well with those in some other Hispanic American countries.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

*Bibliographies in American History. Guide to Materials for Research.*

By HENRY PUTNEY BEERS. (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1928. Pp. 339.)

This volume is an attempt to present "a comprehensive collection of bibliographical materials for research in American history", using the terms "History" and "Bibliographical" in a broad sense, but using the term "American" in the sense of the United States. The

work is divided into fourteen chapters as follows: I. General Aids; II. Colonial Period, Revolution, Confederation; III. The United States; IV. Diplomatic History; V. Economic History; VI. Education; VII. Political Science, Constitutional, Legal; VIII. Army and Navy; IX. Races; X. Religious History; XI. Social, Cultural, Scientific; XII. Biography and Genealogy; XIII. Territories, Possessions, Dependencies; and XIV. States. The material on Hispanic America is found chiefly in chapters I, II, IV (containing most items), VIII, IX, X, XI, and XIII. There are in all 7692 numbered items, which figure however is considerably under the total since many numbers have the letters a, b, c, etc., attached to them. All items are classified by chapters except those numbered 7524 to 7692 which are in an addenda. There are a list of abbreviations and an excellent index.

Although Mr. Beers has collected his references from a wide variety of sources in Washington and Philadelphia, some important pertinent works have escaped him. Among those which he might have cited are bibliographies by Diego Barbosa Machado (1741-1759); Diego Barros Arana (1882); José Mariano Beristain de Souza (1816-1821); A. V. A. do Sacramento Blake (1883-1902); Juan José de Eguíara y Eguren (1755); Genaro Estrada (1925); Segundo de Ispizúa (1915); Ernest Gerhard Jacob (in *Archiv f. Kulturgeschichte*, XXV); Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt (1937); T. P. O'Halloran (1912); Trubner and Co., (1878); and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1879).

But despite omissions this work constitutes one of the most comprehensive and satisfying bibliographies that the reviewer has seen. Without question, Mr. Beers has produced an excellent guide which should become a bibliographical handbook for all students of United States history and of certain portions and topics of Hispanic American history.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

*Revista de Economía Argentina, Índice General. Años 1918-1933.*  
Buenos Aires, 1933.

*Revista Americana de Buenos Aires. Índice General, 1924-1937.*  
Buenos Aires, 1937.

There seems to be a general happy tendency to make available Hispanic America's wealth of periodical literature by the gradual publi-

cation of adequate indices for the several leading reviews. Such work is of significant importance, especially for those students of Hispanic American affairs who do not have easy access to complete periodical collections. The inclusion of such indices in local libraries will greatly facilitate inter-library loan exchange of any definite periodical issues needed in specific research work.

The two indices here noted are of peculiar value in that they cover comparatively long periods in the publication of two leading Argentine reviews. Under the able editorship of Señor Alejandro Bunge, the *Revista de Economía Argentina* has become a highly useful publication in the economic field; Señor V. Lillo Catalán has made the *Revista Americana de Buenos Aires* one of the most valuable of those Hispanic American literary reviews, which contain excellent materials in such related studies as history, sociology, philosophy, etc. The *Revista Americana de Buenos Aires* has also long been known for the excellence of its bibliographical studies, notably its bibliographies of the general field of Hispanic American periodical literature. The publication of indices to the contents of such valuable reviews should prove of material aid to the student of Hispanic American life and letters.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Hartford, Conn.

*Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America.* Vol. IV, 1728-1739. By LEO FRANCIS STOCK. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937. Pp. xxvii, 888. Index.)

This is Vol. IV of publication No. 338 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and is among the remaining few of the volumes planned years ago by that Nestor of historians, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson. It brings the proceedings and debates of British parliaments respecting North America to the year 1739, and covers among other things a period of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations of very great historical value, not only in Europe but in North America as well. Dr. Stock's editing has been throughout as meticulous as in the preceding three volumes of the series—perhaps even more meticulous as he has built on the experience of those volumes.

This volume is of interest to students of Hispanic-American history, for over half of it concerns Anglo-Spanish relations leading to the war of Jenkins' Ear. As such this part of the volume supplements,

in no small degree, Amos A. Ettinger's *James Edward Oglethorpe, Imperial Idealist*, and John Tate Lanning's *The Diplomatic History of Georgia, A Study of the Epoch of Jenkins' Ear*. As a diplomatic study it is of prime importance, and must be consulted by all students of its period. It may be supplemented still further by the documents in the Archivo General de Indias detailing the Spanish side and interpretation of the period. Most of the latter documents have been photostated from the originals for The Florida State Historical Society after extensive research by Miss Irene A. Wright, now with the National Archives. Of great value to the student are such lists of documents as appear on pp. 275-292.

Those interested in economic history will find much of interest with regard to the South Sea Company, the Asiento, the trade to the West Indies, and other economic matters. Throughout the period, the notorious Tomás Geraldino was matched against the clever Benjamin Keene; and Newcastle in London found not unworthy opponents in Patiño and others in Madrid. The debates and proceedings show that Spain was beaten almost from the beginning, for England's star was in the ascendant. On the other hand, one can see the increasing importance of the English colonies in America, and can readily understand how, after the colonies had attained independence, they retained that hostility to Spain that had been nurtured in them as colonies by the mother country. The index to the volume is most excellent.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

Annapolis.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### SPANISH PEARL-FISHING OPERATIONS ON THE PEARL COAST IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Pearl fisheries played an important economic rôle in early Spanish exploration and settlement in the new world. Discoveries of pearl beds invariably attracted Spaniards and led to colonization, organization of pearl fishing enterprises, and expansion of trade. Pearl resources were found in various parts of the Spanish possessions, principally on the northern coast of South America (which came to be known as the Pearl Coast), on the Pacific side of the Isthmus of Panama, and in the Gulf of California. The Pearl Coast, scene of the first pearl discoveries, was opened to European exploitation by Christopher Columbus.

Columbus's interest in pearls preceded his first voyage of discovery. On April 17, 1492, he entered into a contract with the rulers of Spain whereby he was given the right to keep for himself one-tenth of all the pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other goods obtained in the *almirantazgo* to be granted to him.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps some significance is to be attached to the fact that pearls are mentioned first in the list.

There is no evidence that Columbus obtained any pearls on his first two voyages. On his third voyage, however, he touched the coast of South America at the Gulf of Paria. Sailing to the west, he encountered the island later known as Cubagua, but which he called Isla de Perlas. The men Columbus sent ashore found that the natives had many pearls among their adornments, and they immediately began to trade for them. In exchange for buttons, needles, scissors, and fragments of Valencian earthenware, the Spaniards obtained more than six marks (48 ounces) of assorted pearls. Many more gems were

<sup>1</sup> "Capitulaciones entre los Sres. Reyes Católicos y Cristóbal Colón," April 17, 1492, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista, y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceanía sacados de los Archivos del Reino y muy especialmente del de Indias* (Madrid, 1864-1884), XVII, 572-574.

secured from Indians on the adjacent mainland (later known as Cumaná) before Columbus left the vicinity.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever his motives may have been, Columbus endeavored to keep secret his discovery of this source of pearls. Some said that he hoped to hide it from the king and exploit it at his convenience,<sup>3</sup> whereas others felt that he merely wanted to keep the matter to himself until he could negotiate a new contract with the sovereign.<sup>4</sup> The latter, however, heard of the pearl episode before Columbus reported it. According to Gómara, this delinquency on the part of the admiral was one of the causes leading to his subsequent imprisonment.<sup>5</sup>

Great interest was aroused in Spain by the pearls which Columbus's sailors displayed upon their return. A group of men headed by Luis Guerra hastily organized a pearl-trading venture which was put in charge of Peralonso Niño.<sup>6</sup> A royal license to search for pearls was granted to the expedition, but Niño was not to approach within fifty leagues of any territory discovered by Columbus. He embarked in the latter part of 1499 with thirty-three men, several of whom had been with Columbus. Disregarding the restriction in his license, he sailed for Paria, and from there to Cumaná.<sup>7</sup> At numerous places

<sup>2</sup> Francisco López de Gómara, *La Historia general de las Indias, con todos los Descubrimientos, y Cosas notables que han acaecido en ellas, den de que se ganaron hasta agora* (Antwerp, 1554), fol. 95-97. A similar account is found in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra firme del Mar océano* (José de Amador, ed.) (Madrid, 1851-1855), I, 589-590; also in Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World* (W. H. Smyth, tr.), (London, 1857), pp. 30-32.

<sup>3</sup> Oviedo, *op. cit.*, I, 590.

<sup>4</sup> Gómara, *op. cit.*, fol. 97b. In this connection it is interesting to consider Bartolomé de las Casas's version of Columbus's third voyage, as given in his *Historia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1875-1876), II, 220-317. Writing between 1552 and 1561, Las Casas had access to a large body of Columbus's papers, including a journal of the third voyage (see Edward G. Bourne, in *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot*, New York, 1906, p. 317); his account of this expedition is quite detailed. However, Las Casas barely mentions the fact that Columbus traded for pearls in the vicinity of the Gulf of Paria, and he does not indicate that the explorer gave the name Isla de Perlas to Cubagua. Significance may also be attached to the following comment by Las Casas, concerning the naming of the island Margarita: ". . . the Admiral, although he did not know that pearls grew in this gulf, seems to have divined it in naming it Margarita" (Las Casas, *op. cit.*, II, 262).

<sup>5</sup> Gómara, *op. cit.*, fol. 97-97b.

<sup>6</sup> Because of the name of its leader, the group was known as Los Niños.

<sup>7</sup> Gómara, *op. cit.*, fol. 97b.

along the coast the natives were willing to exchange pearls for pins, glass beads, small bells, and similar objects.<sup>8</sup> On the return voyage early in 1501, Niño and his men quarreled over the division of the pearls. Upon reaching Spain, they accused him of secreting pearls in order to cheat the king out of a part of the *quinto*, and of having traded at Cumaná and other places discovered by Columbus. The latter was a violation of his license. Niño was imprisoned, and his pearls and vessels were confiscated.

The return of Niño's expedition further stimulated Spanish interest in the pearl trade of Cubagua and Cumaná. It is possible that Niño's was the first financially successful voyage to America.<sup>9</sup> Luis Guerra organized a second expedition which he himself accompanied. Trading at Margarita and the adjacent mainland coast yielded nearly a *coastal* (sack-full) of pearls, but the vessel containing the treasure was wrecked on the return journey to Spain.<sup>10</sup>

Trading for pearls served to introduce the Spaniards into the more profitable business of pearl fishing. This, at first, was carried on by means of frequent expeditions which set out from Española and Haiti. The handsome returns obtained, however, warranted permanent location in the immediate vicinity of the pearl beds, and settlements were soon established at Cubagua and Cumaná. Thus, the pearl fisheries were the principal nucleus for the colonization of the northern coast of South America.

At first the local natives were employed as divers. Later, it became the practice to import Indians from the Bahamas, famed as swimmers, for that purpose. Prices paid for such Indians rose markedly, reaching 150 gold pesos, which indicates that it was exceedingly profitable to employ them in the pearl fisheries.<sup>11</sup>

Oviedo gives an account of pearl fishing operations at Cubagua.<sup>12</sup> Six or seven divers were sent out in a small boat, in charge of an over-

<sup>8</sup> Gómara (*op. cit.*, fol. 98b) says that Niño brought back 96 pounds of pearls, many of them fine gems of 5, 6, and more carats. Oviedo (*op. cit.*, I, 591) states that Niño secured almost 50 marks of pearls and that, although none of them weighed as much as 5 carats, many were round and of good luster. A mark being equivalent to 8 ounces, this would give a product of 400 ounces, or 25 pounds, of pearls, which is considerably less than the figure given by Gómara. Las Casas (*op. cit.*, II, 439) says that Niño got "150 pounds or marks", of which "96 marks or pounds" had been obtained at Curiana.

<sup>9</sup> George F. Kunz, *The Book of the Pearl* (New York, 1908), p. 228.

<sup>10</sup> An account of this venture is given by Las Casas, *op. cit.*, II, 444-447.

<sup>11</sup> Las Casas, *op. cit.*, III, 230.

<sup>12</sup> Oviedo, *op. cit.*, I, 607-608.

seer. Each diver was equipped with a net, tied to his waist or neck, in which he placed the oysters as he gathered them on the bottom. The net was emptied after each dive, while the diver rested in the boat. When operating in deep water, it was customary for the diver to weigh himself down with two heavy stones, which enabled him to reach the bottom and remain there for a suitable length of time. The whole "catch" was taken ashore at the end of the day's work, and warehoused. When a sufficient supply had been accumulated, the oysters were opened and culled for pearls.

The exhaustion of pearl beds at Cubagua was already noticeable in Oviedo's day.<sup>13</sup> His inquiries showed that the entrepreneurs knew through experience that an exhausted bed would restore itself if not exploited for a time. That author said:

But even though this be the case, the Christians have been so hasty to search for these pearls that they have not contented themselves with divers in getting them; they have discovered other devices such as rakes and nets, and they have extracted such a quantity that scarcity has begun to set in and they are no longer found in abundance, as at first.<sup>14</sup>

Treatment of the Indian divers was doubtless harsh. However, the only authority who dwells on this subject is Las Casas in his *Brevissima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* (1552),<sup>15</sup> and his account is probably exaggerated.<sup>16</sup> According to Las Casas, the Indians were allowed little respite between dives; if they attempted to rest too long they were thrown into the water by the overseer of the boat, and compelled to continue fishing. Many were killed by sharks. Hemorrhages produced by water pressure, and intestinal disorders induced by diving in frigid waters, accounted for other fatalities. The divers were poorly fed, and at night they were kept in stocks to prevent escape. Las Casas estimated that the pearl fisheries of Cubagua had proved as destructive of human life as the mines of Española and Cuba; the need for replenishing the supply of divers had led to raids on the Indians of the neighboring mainland.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Oviedo's *Historia general* was first published at Seville in 1535.

<sup>14</sup> Oviedo, *op. cit.*, I, 608.

<sup>15</sup> Translated in Francis A. MacNutt, *Bartholomew de las Casas—his Life, his Apostolate, and his Writings* (New York, 1909), pp. 311-424 (see pp. 381-383).

<sup>16</sup> The *Brevissima Relación* was largely a work of propaganda. See Lesley B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (Berkeley, 1929), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> According to Kunz, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-231, Las Casas secured regulations to improve working conditions for the pearl divers. In 1516, he presumably persuaded the king to decree that pearl fishing should be conducted in summer only,

Raids such as these Las Casas held responsible for wrecking his "ideal colony". This colonizing venture was authorized by a royal decree of May 19, 1520, which granted to Las Casas 260 leagues of coast between Paria and Santa Marta. Leaving Spain in November of the same year, Las Casas and a small band of followers reached Puerto Rico without mishap. There, however, they met an expedition from Española under Gonzalo de Ocampo, bound for Cumaná to punish the natives for having massacred the members of a slave-raiding party. Las Casas attempted to dissuade Ocampo from carrying out his proposed punitive expedition, claiming that his charter gave him authority over the region involved, but the leader refused to listen. While Ocampo continued on his journey, Las Casas went to Española to complain to the audiencia. Obstacles were placed in his path until Ocampo's mission was accomplished. In order to appease Las Casas, and because they feared his influence with Charles V, the officials at Española then arranged to provide financial aid for the "ideal colony". Toward the latter part of 1521, Las Casas finally arrived at Cumaná, but with reduced forces and in the face of hostile natives.

MacNutt<sup>18</sup> gives the story of the "ideal colony" in detail. The experiment was a failure, partly because of the raids instigated by the pearl fishers of Cubagua to secure an adequate supply of divers. When Las Casas went to Española to protest against this practice, the man he left in charge immediately sent out two boats to fish for pearls and to capture Indians. Apparently, not even his own men could be trusted when pearls were available. Shortly after, the Indians at the colony rose in revolt. Several Spaniards were killed and the others driven away. News of the disaster reached Las Casas at Española and he decided to abandon the project.

Some time after the destruction of this colony, a company of soldiers under Jacome de Castellon was sent to Cumaná and the Indians were again subdued. Old settlements were reestablished and new ones

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that the divers should not be compelled to work more than four hours a day in depths exceeding six fathoms, that they should receive good nourishment and a pint of wine daily, that they should be provided with hammocks or beds for sleeping, and that they must be clothed as soon as they came out of the water. Kunz refers to Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra firme del Mar Océano*, as his authority. The writer has been unable to find this item in the edition of Herrera (Madrid, 1601-1615) to which he has had access, nor has he been able to find such regulations in the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*. <sup>18</sup> MacNutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-173.

founded. Pearl fishing operations were started on an extensive scale once more, and apparently excellent results were obtained.<sup>19</sup> Benzoni tells of an expedition which came from Spain about this time, in charge of Luigi da Lampognano, an Italian.<sup>20</sup> A royal permit to engage in the pearl fishery had been secured for Lampognano by some Spanish merchants. His equipment included a large *rastro* (rake) for removing pearl oysters from the bottom. However, the Spaniards at Cubagua refused to allow him to operate, alleging that the king had no right to give to a foreigner the property they had gained and supported by their labor.

An estimate of the relative importance of pearls as a source of Spanish treasure in the first part of the sixteenth century was made by Alexander von Humboldt.<sup>21</sup> He states that the king's "fifth" from pearls in the early years of the sixteenth century amounted to 15,000 ducats. Up to 1530, the value of pearls sent to Europe averaged more than 800,000 piastres (pesos) yearly. This should be compared with the product of mines in the Americas, which did not amount to more than 2,000,000 piastres annually during the same period. Kunz estimates that prior to the development of the mines of Mexico and Peru the value of pearl exports exceeded that of all other exports combined.<sup>22</sup> Reports of phenomenal yields are encountered occasionally in the records of the time. In one month (January, 1529), more than 1500 marks (12,000 ounces) were obtained from the pearl beds of the island of Coche.<sup>23</sup> Further data on the king's revenue from pearls are found in the accounts of shipments made to the Casa de Contratación by the royal treasury officials at Española. On January 24, 1533, for example, the treasurer turned over to the captain of the vessel *Trinidad* several boxes of pearls which he had received from the royal officials of Cubagua. One box contained 90 pearls, many of good size; the other boxes each held more than 10 marks of rough pearls. The *Sant Nicolás*, sailing for Spain in June, 1533, carried over 200 marks of pearls, ranging from common to fine. Two boxes of pearls from Cubagua were put into the hands of the captain of the

<sup>19</sup> Herrera, *op. cit.*, Dec. 3, p. 63.

<sup>20</sup> Benzoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the equinoctial Regions of the new Continent, during the Years 1799-1804* (H. M. Williams, tr.), (London, 1819-1829), II, 273.

<sup>22</sup> Kunz, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> Diego de Caballero to Charles V, March 16, 1529, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento . . . de América y Oceanía*, XI, 435-438, (see 436).

*Santa María de Begonia* in July, 1534; in one there were 200 marks of pearls, mostly "common", while the other contained 1000 small pearls. A shipment of June 3, 1535, included 140 marks of pearls. In June, 1536, shipments were sent on two vessels; one carried 100 marks of common pearls, the other 93 marks.<sup>24</sup> In 1538, the squadron of Blasco Nuñez Vela transported pearls worth 208 ducats for the king, while that of Martín Alonso in 1543 carried gems valued at 9000 ducats.<sup>25</sup> The largest of the pearls in the last lot, however, came from the Pearl Islands near Panama.

It is unfortunate that the Spaniards so frequently reported the yield of pearls by weight. Because of great variation in quality it is practically impossible to make estimates of value from mere figures of quantity. As Kunz says, reporting pearls by weight is as unsatisfactory as reporting the wealth of an individual by the pounds' weight of his title-deeds or of his stock certificates. However, since pearls were in great demand in Europe at the time, we should be safe in assuming that the aggregate value of pearls sent to Spain was large.

For two centuries following the discovery of America, extravagance in personal decoration was almost unlimited at the European courts, and the pearls exceeded in quantity that of all other gems. Enormous numbers were worn by persons of rank and fortune. This is apparent, not only from the antiquarian records, and the historical accounts, but also in the paintings and engravings of that time; portraits of the Hapsburgs, the Valois, the Medicis, the Borgias, the Tudors, and the Stuarts show great quantities of pearls, and relatively few other gems.<sup>26</sup>

The latter part of the sixteenth century witnessed a decline in pearl-fishing activity on the northern coast of South America. Constant intensive fishing had seriously depleted the shallow resources, and the techniques then available did not permit the deeper beds to be worked.<sup>27</sup> The center of activity shifted from Cubagua, Cumaná,

<sup>24</sup> "Relación del oro, perlas y otras cosas enviados por los oficiales de la isla de Española á los jueces y oficiales de la Casa de Contratación de Sevilla, desde el año de quinientos y treynta y tres en adelante", in *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento . . . de América y Oceanía*, XI, 486-494.

<sup>25</sup> Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, 1918), p. 165.

<sup>26</sup> Kunz, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> In 1583, a Sicilian, Juseppe Bono, attempted to obtain a license to employ in the pearl fisheries of the Indies a diving bell which he had invented. Testimony concerning successful experiments he had conducted in Europe, and a sketch of the device, are found in an *expediente* in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville

and Margarita to the western limit of the Pearl Coast, in the vicinity of Rio de la Hacha. According to Acosta, whose work<sup>28</sup> was published in 1590, the greatest quantity and the best pearls were found at Rio de la Hacha. Another writer, Alsedo,<sup>29</sup> states that the pearl fisheries of Margarita, Cumaná, and Cumanagota were ruined by pirates' raids. The reason he gives for the decline is questionable, but his statement may be accepted as evidence of the stagnation of the industry in those places. He points out, however, that the pearl fisheries at Santa Marta and Rio de la Hacha were still active in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Other factors played a part in the decline of operations on the Pearl Coast. Indian attempts to repel Spanish settlement forced many enterprises to be abandoned. Capital and adventurers were attracted by mining developments in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere early in the seventeenth century. Stories of great pearl discoveries in the Gulf of California helped to bring about a shift of activity to the Pacific. It is significant that the Cardona Company, whose pearl fishing license of 1612<sup>30</sup> applied to the Pearl Coast as well as to California, confined its operations almost entirely to the west coast of New Spain.<sup>31</sup> Also, values of pearls were falling in the European market in the seventeenth century, partly because of the skilful manufacture of imitation gems at Venice.

Another change which occurred in the pearl fisheries in the last years of the sixteenth century was the shift from Indian to Negro divers. A royal decree of June 25, 1558, forbade the use of Indians in pearl fishing and prescribed that Negroes were to be used in their stead,<sup>32</sup> but it is possible that a deficient supply of Indians had

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[hereinafter cited as A.G.I.], *Patronato, legajo 260, ramo 10*. However, there is nothing in the *expediente* to show that the license was actually granted.

<sup>28</sup> Josef de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Yndias* (Seville, 1590), p. 235.

<sup>29</sup> Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, *Piraterías y Agresiones de los Ingleses y de otros Pueblos de Europa en la América Española desde el siglo XVI al XVIII* (Justo Zaragoza, ed.), (Madrid, 1883), p. 450.

<sup>30</sup> "Contrata y capitulacion que en el año de 1612 hicieron con Su Magd. Tomás de Cardona y Sancho de Méras, para entablar pesqueria de perlas . . .", Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid, MS. 2846, fol. 321-328.

<sup>31</sup> Sanford A. Mosk, "The Cardona Company and the Pearl Fisheries of Lower California," in *The Pacific Historical Review*, III (1934), 50-61.

<sup>32</sup> *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Madrid, 1756), book 4, title 25, law 31.

already led to significant importations of Negro slaves. Writing to the king in 1602, a royal official at Margarita<sup>33</sup> is authority for the statement that Negroes from Guinea were formerly brought in large numbers to the island, where they sold for 180 pesos apiece. Slave dealers had found the traffic in Negro divers quite profitable; payments were made to them in pearls, which yielded an additional 12 per cent when sold in Spain. In 1621, there were only 130 Negro divers left at Margarita, and it was recommended that 300 be imported in order to rebuild the pearl fishing industry.<sup>34</sup>

Apparently, several attempts were made after 1600 to restore the fisheries of the Pearl Coast to their former glory, but no major developments took place. Operations continued on a small scale until the end of the seventeenth century, when they practically ceased. "Thus", says Kunz,<sup>35</sup>

ended an enterprise which, for a number of years, represented the greatest single industry of the European people on the American continent.

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The paper written by Dr. Almon R. Wright and published in the February, 1938, issue of this REVIEW should have been entitled "Argentina and the Papacy, 1810-1927", instead of "Argentina and the Papacy, 1810-1827".

An Instituto Chileno-Cubano de Cultura was founded in Havana on June 11, in imitation of a similar organization recently founded in Chile. The object of the new Institute is to draw closer the bonds of friendship between Cuba and Chile. Among those acting for Cuba were the secretary of Education, Fr. Pérez Cabrera, the Cuban scholar, Dr. José María Chacón y Calvo, Carlos de la Torre, and others. For Chile, Dr. Luis Galdames, the head of the Chilean mission, delivered a stirring address on Andrés Bello; and another address was delivered by the Chilean minister to Cuba, Dr. Edwards Bello, grandson of Andrés Bello. The new Institute apparently has a long and useful life ahead of it. In line with the good-neighbor policy,

<sup>33</sup> Pedro Tajardo to the king, Margarita, April 12, 1602, A.G.I., *Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, legajo 180.

<sup>34</sup> Report to the president of the audiencia of Santo Domingo, Margarita, September 19, 1621, A.G.I., *Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, legajo 183.

<sup>35</sup> Kunz, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

it would be useful to found similar organizations between the United States and other American countries. Washington offers immense opportunities for such organizations. There is in that city already a Latin-American Forum which would be found useful in forming intellectual bonds in the Americas. The Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association is also working along such lines. THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has always advocated close intellectual coöperation among the Americas. Perhaps Chile and Cuba have given better direction to intellectual harmony than has yet been known.

Dr. Madaline W. Nichols, who received appointment to one of the two scholarships for study at the summer session at Santiago, Chile, reports that there is a demand in Chile for exchange professors who can give lectures in Spanish. Interest is especially noted in the fields of Sociology and Education. The two persons receiving the scholarships in 1937 were nominated by the Institute of International Education and the United States Board of Education; but final appointment was made through the Department of State of the United States.

In an address on Fernando de Soto given at Memphis, by Dr. John R. Swanton, of the Smithsonian Institution, on October 30, 1937, attention was called to several important matters. Among other things, is the following, which historical students will probably agree was well put:

It may have been fortunate for England and her colonists and therefore for ourselves that, from the point of view of its original object, De Soto's expedition was a complete failure and was so regarded in Spain. Had the primary gold regions of North America been located in the southern Appalachians instead of the far western mountains, Spanish adventurers would have continued to pour into the territory of the present United States and today it might be a Spanish-American country. As it was, the richness of the soil did result in one imposing effort at colonization on Mobile and Pensacola Bays, under Tristán de Luna, but it was poorly led, dissensions broke out among the colonists, and the enterprise was soon abandoned. Thereafter Spain's main interest in the territory of the present United States was as a location for buffer provinces with which to protect those parts of the American continent which she more particularly valued.

Dr. Percy Alvin Martin is working on the second edition of his *Who's Who in Latin America*. The new edition will probably be published this or early next year.

Dr. Isaac Joslin Cox recently visited Havana while en route to Puerto Rico, where he is lecturing during the summer season at the University of Puerto Rico.

Dr. Herminio Portell Vilá, the Cuban scholar, has severed his connection with Black Mountain College, and has returned to Cuba. His resignation became effective in early June.

The eighth edition of the History of Chile by Luis Galdames has recently appeared. The last chapter of this valuable book has been largely rewritten. The translation of this work by Dr. Isaac Joslin Cox will soon appear as one of the volumes of the Inter-American Historical Series. Dr. Cox will embody the revisions of the last chapter in his translation.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

The present list forms the seventh supplement to the compiler's *Hispanic American Bibliographies*, published by THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW in 1922.

While no general bibliographical works of great significance are included in this list, the compiler believes that the contributions noted are well worthy the consideration of those interested in the field. Many of the analytical entries cover topics of intrinsic interest in special fields concerning which little literature is available.

As worthy of special attention the compiler cites: Barreras y Martínez Malo's *Diccionario biográfico del Poder judicial de Cuba*; *Boletín bibliográfico argentino* which began publication in 1937; *Boletín bibliográfico de Antropología americana*, an important, well edited organ; Dihigo's *Bibliografía de la Universidad de la Habana*; *Handbook of Latin American studies*, edited by Dr. Lewis Hanke; Peraza Sarausa, *Anuario bibliográfico Cubano* and *Bibliografía de Enrique José Varona*; Valle's *Bibliografía Maya*; and Velho Sobrinho's *Diccionario bio-bibliographico Brasileiro*.

The compiler wishes to reiterate his request for items that may have been overlooked.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

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## ADDITIONAL ITEMS TOWARD A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GENARO ESTRADA

Additional titles toward a bibliography of the great Mexican scholar, Genaro Estrada, are as follows (see list in this REVIEW for May, 1938):

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RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

Tacubaya, Mexico, D. F.

## SOME RECENT BRAZILIAN AND PORTUGUESE PUBLICATIONS

The titles listed below have been gleaned from Brazilian and Portuguese newspapers and periodicals for the months of January to August, 1936. Titles to a few outstanding articles published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio de Janeiro and the *Jornal do Comércio e das Colônias* of Lisbon, have also been included.

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The author, who is a follower of Spengler, has endeavored in this book to study political problems of Brazil in the light of the historical philosophy of the author of *The Decline of the West*.

Abranches, Dunshee de: *Uma vida . . .*; perfil biographico do professor José de Abranches Moura. Rio de Janeiro, Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1936.  
"Acção catholica brasileira": In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, January 1, 1936.

A study of social activity of the Catholic Church in Brazil in recent years.  
Accioly, Hildebrando: *O reconhecimento do Brasil pelos Estados Unidos da America*. São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1936.

Dr. Accioly, who was recently called to occupy an important post in the ministry of foreign affairs at Rio, after having served as embassy counselor in Washington and minister plenipotentiary in Bucharest, is a student of diplomacy and international law.

Albuquerque Filho, Luiz Rodolpho Cavalcanti de. *Contra o integralismo!* Rio de Janeiro, Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1936.

Fascism in Brazil goes under the name of *Integralismo*. The work above mentioned is an attack against the political philosophy of the Integralista party which is headed by Plinio Salgado.

Alfanjos. *Ouro brasileiro*. São Paulo, Imprensa Commercial [1936].

A study on Brazilian finances.

Almeida, Antonio Figueira de: *Historia do ensino secundario no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Jacintho, 1936.

Amado, Jorge: *Os romances da Bahia*. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria José Olympio, Ed., 1936.

Apparently a reprint of Jorge Amado's three notable novels *Cacau*, *Suor*, and *Mar Morto*. The author is one of the most distinguished writers of present-day Brazil. His novels deal with life in the state of Bahia.

Amaral, Villemor do: *Codigo das sociedades anonyms*. Rio de Janeiro, F. Briguier, Ed., 1936.

Amorim, Deolindo: "Vigencia do Monroismo". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, July, 12, 1936.

Anais das bibliotecas, museus e arquivo historico municipais. In *Boletim trimensal*. No 18, Outubro-Dezembro, 1935, Lisbon, Portugal.

It contains an important "Catalogo da exposiçao bibliografica e iconografica da conquista de Lisboa os Mouros por D. Afonso Henriques".

Araujo Jorge, J. G.: Bazar de rythmos. Rio de Janeiro, Ariel ed. ltd., 1935.  
Poetry.

Archer, Maria: Africa selvagem. [Lisbon, 1936?].

Folk-lore of Portuguese Africa.

*Archivos do Museu Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Vol. XXXVI, 1934. Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Nacional, 1935.

Augusto, José: Porque sou parlamentarista. Rio de Janeiro, Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1936.

The Constitution of 1934 offered Brazil the opportunity of adopting again a parliamentary form of government. The author explains in this work why he favors this type of government for Brazil.

Azevedo, Raul: "Do meu livro de saudades; independencia—Princeza Isabel, a maior das brasileiras—Patria". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 23, 1936.

Berlink, Cardine. A mappotheca do Itamaraty. Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1936.

The building housing the ministry of foreign affairs in Rio is called the Itamaraty. Recently the archives and library of the Itamaraty were reorganized. In this work, the author describes the map division of the library.

Bezerra, Alcides: A philosophia na phase colonial. Reprint from vol. XXXIII, of *Publicações do Archivo Nacional*. Rio de Janeiro, Officina Graphica do Archivo Nacional, 1935.

The author of this study is at present director of the National Archives of Brazil.

Bevilaqua, Clovis: Codigo civil dos Estados Unidos do Brasil; commentado. Vol. I, 5th ed. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Francisco Alves, 1936.

Bevilaqua is considered the highest authority in Brazil on juridical matters. He is the author both of the Brazilian Civil Code and its best commentaries. The latter, in 6 volumes, were first published in 1916. This, and other subsequent editions, being out of print, a new one is now being published. Volume I contains a history of the codification of civil law in Brazil.

Bittencourt, Feijó: "Evolução do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, July 26 and August 9, 1936.

Bittencourt, Liberato: Mario de Alencar; literatura comparada. Rio de Janeiro, Officina Graphica do Ginasio 28 de Setembro [1936?].

Boiteaux, Lucas Alexandre: "A respeito de uma quinta viagem de Americo Vespucci". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, January 5, 1936.

The author, who is a distinguished officer of the Brazilian navy, is known for his historical studies.

*Boletim do Museu Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Vol. XI, No. 1, March, 1935.

Published under the direction of E. Roquette-Pinto, who is at present director of the National Museum of Rio, and a distinguished ethnologist.

*Boletim dos organismos económicos: Organ of the Ministério do Comercio e Industria, Lisbon, Portugal.*

Bouças, Valetim F.: Os dois cyclos economicos da Republica e o seu commercio exterior; parecer emitido pelo consultor tecnico . . . na sessão de 7 de outubro de 1935, do Conselho Federal de Commercio Superior. Rio de Janeiro, Estabelecimento de Artes Graphicas C. Mendes Jor., 1935.

Brasiliano, Rubio: O Rio Grande do Sul e a Cisplatina; estudo historico sobre a colonisação e a constituição geographica da nossa terra e das questões platinas. Porto Alegre, Officina Graphica da Livraria do Globo, 1935.

Britto, José Saturnino: Evolução do cooperativismo. Rio de Janeiro, Casa Mandarino, 1936.

Caetano, Marcelo: Perspectivas. Lisbon, Ed. of the author, 1936.

Notes on social and economic matters.

Calmon, Pedro: "O escravo brasileiro no seculo XIX". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 23, 1936.

Campo Belo, Conde de (Henrique): Governadores gerais e vice-reis do Brasil. Lisbon, Ed. da Agencia Geral das Colonias [1936?].

Campos, Agostinho de: A fé no imperio. Lisbon, Ed. da Universidade Nacional [1935?].

Agostinho de Campos is one of the best informed and elegant writers of contemporary Portugal. This is a collection of articles written by him at various times on Portuguese questions.

Cardoso, Leontina Licinio: Almas. São Paulo, Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, Ed., 1935.

Biographies of six Brazilian women.

Cardoso, Marta: Folclore de Cadaval. Lisbon, Ed. of the author, 1936.

Carvalho, Antonio Gontijo: Vultos da Republica. São Paulo, Empreza Graphica da Revista dos tribunaes, 1936.

Biographies of Carlos Peixoto, David Campista, and Gastão da Cunha.

Castro, Aloysio de: Os amores de Horacio. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Briguiet, ed., 1936.

Castro, Sylvio Rangel de: A irradiação da cultura latina no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1936.

The author is in the diplomatic service of his country.

Chagas, Carlos: Discursos e conferencias. Rio de Janeiro, Officina Graphica S. A. "A Noite", 1936.

The author, who died recently, was considered one of the greatest scientists of modern Brazil.

Coaracy, Vivaldo: Zacarias. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria José Olympio, 1936.

Critic of contemporary life in Brazil.

Correia Filho, V.: "Feijó e Monte-Alverne". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 9, 1936.

A study on Diogo Antonio Feijó and Francisco José Carvalho, the latter better known as Frei Francisco de Monte-Alverne, both prominent Brazilian personalities of the nineteenth century.

Dale, Gustavo: Terra morena. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. Gaspar Silva & Co., 1936.

Novel of ideas of contemporary Brazil.

Dantas, Marcos de Souza: O problema das nossas dividas externas. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. da "Magazine Commercial" [1936?].

The author was a member of the financial delegation recently sent by the Brazilian government to the United States and European countries to negotiate with respect to the Brazilian foreign debt and other financial and economic matters.

Del Picchia, Menotti: "Contribuição de S. Paulo para o movimento de renovação espiritual do Brasil". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 30, 1936.

D'Eu, Conde: Viagem militar ao Rio Grande do Sul; dezenove cartas comentadas por Max Fleiuss. São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1936.

Written in 1865, these letters were sent to the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro and published in vol. 85 of the Instituto's *Revista*. They are now published again with commentaries by the well known Brazilian historian Max Fleiuss.

Dias, Carlos Malheiro: Pensadores brasileiros. Lisbon, Livraria Bertrand, 1936.

Malheiro Dias is one of the best writers of modern Portugal. This book contains studies on Gilberto Amado, Ronald de Carvalho, Baptista Pereira, Azevedo Amaral, Gilberto Freyre, Tristão de Atahyde, and Plinio Salgado.

Directoria Geral de Estatistica do Estado da Bahia: Vida economica do Estado da Bahia. Bahia, Papellaria Brasileira, 1935.

Esaguy, José de: Relato inedito sobre o desembarque del-rei D. Sebastião em Tanger. [Lisbon?], Ed. of the author, [1936?].

Faria, Godofredo de: Paiz aviltado. Rio de Janeiro, Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1935.

Critical study of recent financial and economic policies of Brazil.

Ferreira, Manoel Antonio: O fundador do imperio luso no Oriente. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. do Sociedade Luso-Africana do Rio de Janeiro, Graphica Rio Arte Ltda., 1936.

Freire, Mario A.: "Primeiras manifestações da imprensa no Brasil". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, February 9, 1936.

Gago Coutinho: "O descobrimento da América". In *Jornal do Comércio e das Colônias*, Lisbon, April 28, 1936.

Grieco, Aggripino: Gente nova do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro, Officina de Obras Graphicas da S. A. "A Noite", Livraria José Olympio, ed., 1935.

Guimarães Junior, Castro: "Caxias; o guerreiro tutelar do imperio". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 23, 1936.

Gurgel, L. Amaral: Ensaio quinhentistas; estudos historicos. São Paulo, Empreza Editora J. Fagundes, 1936.

Instituto de Reorganização Racional do Trabalho de S. Paulo—Departamento Central do Trabalho de S. Paulo: Projecto de organização. São Paulo, Tipografia Siqueira, 1936.

A project of reorganization of the Institute, commonly known as the IDORT.

Jobim, Anisio: A intellectualidade no extremo norte. Manaus, Amazonas, Livraria Classica, 1934.

- Kneht, Theodoro: Os mineraes e minerios do Estado de São Paulo. Ed. of the Directoria de Publicidade Agricola da Secretaria da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio do Estado de São Paulo, reprint from the *Boletim da Agricultura*. São Paulo, Typographia Brasil, 1935.
- Lemos, Macario: Clovis Bevilacqua; sua vida e sua obra. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Educadora, [1936?].
- Lima Junior, Augusto de: O amor infeliz de Marília e Dirceu. Rio de Janeiro, Officina Graphica da S. A. "A Noite", 1936.
- Lobo, Helio: "Carlos Chagas, um retrato". In *Jornal do Commercio*, July 12, 1936.
- Lyra, Heitor: "Exilio e morte do imperador". In *Jornal do Commercio*, January 5, 1936.
- Malta, Eduardo: No mundo dos homens. Lásbon, Ed. Franco, [1936?].  
Novel of contemporary life in Portugal. The author is a well known painter.
- Maranhão, Petrarcha: O turbilhão; ensaios. Rio de Janeiro, Alba ed., 1936.  
Essays on international law, poetry, political synthesis, etc.
- Mattos, P.: Trinta dias em aguas do Amazonas. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Francisco Alves, 1936.
- Maul, Carlos: Nacionalismo e comunismo. Rio de Janeiro, Baptista de Souza & Cia., 1936.
- Mauricy, Andrade: A nova literatura brasileira. Porto Alegre, Livraria do Globo, 1936.
- Medeiros, Fernando Saboia: "A navegação do Amazonas". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 16, 1936.
- Mello, Affonso de Toledo Bandeira de: Politique commerciale du Brésil. Rio de Janeiro. Published by Departamento de Estatistica e Publicidade do Ministerio do Trabalho, 1935.
- Melo, Camara Manuel: Marvina. Ed. Coimbra [1936?].  
A novel.
- Mello, Martinho Nobre de: "O cruzeiro do sul na bandeira nacional e a reivindicação de sua descoberta para os portugueses". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, February 9, 1936.  
Dr. Martinho Nobre, who is now Portuguese ambassador to Brazil, is a distinguished man of letters and student of history.
- Mendonça, Renato: "Evolução da lexicografia brasileira". In *Jornal do Commercio*, February 16, 1936.
- "Literatura regional". In *Jornal do Commercio*, August 30, 1936.
- "Geographia da lingua brasileira". In *Jornal do Commercio*, June 14, 1936.
- Mennucci, Sud: Pelo sentido ruralista da civilização. São Paulo, Empresa Graphica da Revista dos Tribunaes, 1935.  
The author, who was director general of public education in the state of São Paulo a few years ago, studies in this book the work in São Paulo leading to a rural trend in public education.
- Messeder, Alexandre: A lingua e a nacionalidade. Rio de Janeiro, Estabelecimento Graphico Apollo, 1935.

Miranda, Pontes de: *Commentarios á constituição da Republica dos Estados Unidos do Brazil*. Vol. I. Ed. Guanabara, Rio de Janeiro, 1936.

Moraes, Evaristo de: "Ligeiros traços da propaganda republicana". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, August 16, 1936.

Octavio, Rodrigo: *Minhas memorias dos outros*. Livraria José Olympio, Ed. 3 vols., Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1935-36.

An outstanding book of memoirs.

Padua, Marina: *A vida gloriosa de Carlos Gomes*. Livraria Jacintho, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1936.

Pereira, Armando de Arruda: *Diario de viagem de São Paulo a Belém do Pará, descendo o Araguaya*. Graphica Paulista, São Paulo, Brazil, 1935.

Pinho, Wanderley: "Carlos Frederico Lecor", *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, August 16, 1936.

Lecor, later Baron and Viscount of Laguna, was a Portuguese soldier who took part in the Napoleonic wars and in the war against Artigas.

Piza Junior, Salvador de Toledo, and Fonseca, José Pinto da: *Heterosphilus coffeicola*; relatório da viagem realizada ás Indias Neerlandesas e á Africa Oriental Inglesa, pelos Srs. . . para estudar a biologia dessa parasita da bróca do café. Ed. da Directoria de Publicidade Agricola da Secretaria da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio do Estado de São Paulo. Typographia Brazil, São Paulo, Brazil, 1935.

Pontes, Eloy: *A vida inquieta de Raul Pompeia*. Livraria José Olympio, ed., Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1935.

Prada, Egidio: *Coisas do ensino*. São Paulo, Brazil, 1936.

A study on public education in the state of São Paulo.

Rego, José Lins do: *Usina*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1936.

This book, a novel by one of the outstanding writers of modern Brazil, is one of a series by the same author depicting life in the sugar producing region of that country.

Reis, Antonio Simões dos . . . "Pero de Magalhães Gandavo". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, March 29, 1936.

Reis, T. Fortunato: *A constituição federal e a navegação aerea*. Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1935.

*Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*: Vol. 166 (2nd of 1932). Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1935.

*Revista da Sociedade de Geographia do Rio de Janeiro*. 2 vols., tomes XL and XLI, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1935.

Ribeiro, João: *O elemento negro*; historia, folklore, linguistica. Vol. VIII of the *Bibliotheca Historica*. Rio de Janeiro, Editora Record [1936?].

Ribeiro, Joaquim: "Um grande historiador; Diogo de Vasconcellos e a historia da civilização mineira". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, August 23, 1936.

Rocha, Hugo: *Além mar*. Lisbon, Ed. Artes & Letras, 1936.

On Portuguese colonies.

Rodrigues, Lima: *O padre Bento*. Rio de Janeiro, Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1936.

Historical novel.

- Rodrigues, Lopes: *Anchieta e a medicina*. Minas, Brazil, Bibliotheca Mineira de Cultura. Ed. Apollo, Bello Horizonte [1935?].
- Souza, Bernardino José de: *Heroínas bahianas*. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria José Olympio, Ed., 1936.
- Souza e Silva, A. C. de: "O Almirante Saldanha e a revolta da armada". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, June 14, 1936.
- Taunay, Affonso de E.: *Subsidios para a historia do café no Brasil colonial*. Rio de Janeiro, Ed. do Departamento Nacional do Café, 1935.
- "Depoimentos de missionarios dos seculos XVII e XVIII". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, July 5, 1936.
- "Andreoni e o trabalho servil". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, July 12, 1936.
- "Panorama africano". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, July 19, 1936.
- "Raças e cousas do trafico". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, July 26, 1936.
- "Documentos servis dos seculos XVII e XVIII". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 9, 1936.
- "Numeros do trafico". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 16, 1936.
- Torre Negra, Henrique Manuel da: *A rota das naus da India*. Lisbon, Imprensa Lucas & Cia. 1935.
- Verissimo, Ignacio José: "Antecedentes diplomaticos da guerra do Paraguay". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, July 5, 1936.
- Viana, Victor: "Os jesuitas no Rio de Janeiro antes de Villegaignon". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, January 5, 1936.
- "O espirito americano; as nossas realidades e o atavismo peninsular". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 9, 1936.
- "O pensamento americano; de Monroe a Roosevelt". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 23, 1936.
- Vieira, Arlindo: *O problema do ensino secundario*. Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Jacintho, 1936.
- Wanderley, Pinho: "Abolição do trafico interprovincial de escravos". In *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, June 14, 1936.
- Zwerling, Uri, ed.: *Os judeus na historia do Brazil*. Rio de Janeiro, 1936.

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## NOTES

The third edition of J. Fred Rippy's *Latin America in World Politics, An Outline Survey*, has recently been issued by F. S. Crofts & Co. (New York, 1938, 7 ll., pp. 303, \$5.00). In the first fifteen chapters of the third edition, slight revisions have been made. Chapter XVI has been entirely rewritten because of changes made in the policy of the United States toward Hispanic America by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt since 1931. Professor Rippy presents "the new policy in its proper setting, with some attention to current apprehensions regarding Nazi and Fascisti influence". Chapter XVI is entitled "The Latin-American policy of the United States; Roosevelt to Roosevelt". The chapter is of interest and time will show how far, if any, modification of Dr. Rippy's cautious remarks must be made. The book and especially this last chapter will be of use in classroom discussion and further writings on the same subject. That the volume has entered upon its third edition is good evidence that it was needed and that it has found a place. Dr. Rippy has become one of the foremost authorities in the United States on the history and politics of Hispanic America.

*Visual Outline of Latin American History* (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1938, pp. 203, 75 cts.), by Russell H. Fitzgibbon of the University of California at Los Angeles, is the most recent addition to the Students Outline Series. In topical form it gives the salient points of the political history of the Hispanic American Republics during the colonial and national periods. The last three sections deal with social and cultural conditions, economic and industrial progress, and international relations. The facts are presented with a view of giving the student a survey of the field and are arranged so as to serve as a comprehensive review of the subject.—R. R. HILL.

The second volume of the late Cecil Jane's *Select Documents illustrating the four Voyages of Columbus* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1933, pp. lxxxix, 164, £1 11s 6d, net), presents an unfinished critical introduction by Mr. Jane, a supplementary introduction "Columbus and the World Map", by Professor E. G. R. Taylor, and the annotated

text (original and translation) of the narratives of the third and fourth voyages of Columbus. Edward Lynam, in a prefatory note, states truly that "the critical knowledge and judgment which he [Jane] displayed in his introduction and notes to that volume [Jane's first volume] quickly gained for him a high reputation as an authority on Columbus". The same truth is evident in the two critical essays by Jane published in this REVIEW. The text used in the present volume is that of De Lollis *Scritti di Cristoforo Colombo*, except in the case of the *Relación* of Diego Méndez, where the text as published by Fernández de Navarrete was used. The documents presented on the third voyage are the letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, a copy of which, in the hand of Las Casas, is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and printed by De Lollis; and the letter to the nurse, Doña Juana de la Torre (1500). The documents of the fourth voyage are the letter written to Ferdinand and Isabella from Jamaica, on January 7, 1503, and the last will and testament of Diego Méndez. As in Volume I, the text appears in page-for-page original and translation. The volume has a sketch by Columbus of the coast of Española and two maps illustrating the third and fourth voyages, which were compiled by Professor Taylor. The world of scholarship is the poorer on account of Jane's death on February 15, 1932. He was an original scholar with a keenly critical mind.

*El Arte moderno en México. Breve Historia—Siglos XIX y XX* (Mexico, Antigua Librería Robredo, José Porrua e Hijos, 1937, pp. 473; 292 illustrations on 173 plates) by Justino Fernández, with a prólogo by Manuel Toussaint, bears a dedication to the latter and to other teachers, namely, Manuel Ituarte, Carlos Contreras, José Luis Cuevas, Domingo Quijano, Cecil Crawford O'Gorman, and Federico E. Mariscal. The volume is divided into twelve *pláticas* actually edited from those given in the summer school of the National University of Mexico. These are as follows:

Concepto del arte Moderno—El Arte moderno en México

Principios del Siglo XIX.

Mediados del Siglo XIX.

Finales del Siglo XIX y Principios del XX.

La Pintura contemporánea.

La Arquitectura contemporánea.

Las Artes populares.

Las Artes menores.

This very excellent book is printed on excellent paper. From the lectures and the reproductions one can glean a good idea of Mexican art. The text contains many biographical notes on various artists, and appended to each chapter is a bibliographical list. There is a good index.

Sr. Max Henríquez Ureña, ex-secretary of state of the Dominican Republic and president of the Dominican delegation at the Inter-American Conference of the Consolidation of Peace, has published a welcome addition to books originating from the conference at Buenos Aires. This is entitled *La Liga de Naciones Americanas y la Conferencia de Buenos Aires* (Nueva York, L. & S. Printing Co., 238 William Street, 1937, pp. 89, 2 ll). In this are various materials as follows: Por la Unión de América; Los Proyectos de la República Dominicana y de Colombia sobre creación de una Liga de Naciones Americanas; Hacia la Solidaridad continental; Rectificaciones al Dr. Saavedra Lamas; certain pertinent documents—ten in all—annexed (pp. 43-89); Cartas cruzadas entre el Presidente Roosevelt y el Presidente Trujillo; El Punto de Vista Dominicano expuesto en Ginebra; Programa de la Conferencia Interamericana de Consolidación de la Paz; Proyectos que circularon en la Conferencia sin someterse a discusión; Proyecto aprobado estableciendo la consulta, seguido del protocolo de no intervención; La Declaración de Solidaridad interamericana; El Proyecto de Liga de Naciones Americanas presentado por la Delegación de Colombia; Resolución adoptada por la Conferencia sobre los Proyectos Dominicano y Colombiano; Los Resultados de la Conferencia de Buenos Aires (Declaraciones del Presidente Trujillo).

The Pan American Union sent out free on request a number of mimeographed and printed publications in commemoration of Pan American Day, April 14. These excellent materials have a deep significance for the cause of friendship and unity among the Americas. They are as follows:

A Primer of Pan Americanism. By Sister Mary St. Patrick McConville, Ph.D. (mimeographed, pp. 34). Questions and answers showing the history of Pan Americanism. An excellent introduction to such study. The bibliography might have been more complete. In the section "Periodicals and Newspapers", *The Christian Science Monitor* and *The Hispanic American Historical Review* might have been mentioned with profit.

- The Americas.** By Rogelio E. Alfaro (mimeographed, pp. 23). A brief resumé of geographic features; historical sketch; constitution and government; products and industry; transportation; education; literature, art and music.
- The Meaning of Pan American Day** (mimeographed, pp. 3). A short history of how Pan American Day (April 14) came into being.
- Flags and Coats-of-Arms of the American Nations** (printed, pp. 15). History and description.
- Pan Americanism and the Pan American Conferences.** No. 24 "Congress and Conference Series" (printed, pp. 27). A brief historical sketch of the Pan American movement and the instrumentalities by which it is carried forward.
- Commercial Pan America.** A Monthly Review of Commerce and Finance. February, 1938, No. 69. "Commercial Interdependence of the Americas", by Julian G. Zier. A brief history, with statistics of trade reciprocity agreements, etc., of the American republics.
- Economic gifts of the Americas to the World.** By William A. Reid (mimeographed, pp. 13). "A description of various products which have been found or grown in the Americas, the use of which has spread over the world".
- Relations of the United States with Latin America.** By William Manger (mimeographed, pp. 19). The good neighbor policy.
- Fiesta Panamericana** (mimeographed, pp. 3). A Pan American program.
- Program Suggestions** (mimeographed, pp. 13). For the observance of Pan American Day.
- América Unida Dramatización** (mimeographed, pp. 10). Prepared in the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union. A short dramatization of each country of the Americas. A description and representation of the flag of the Americas.
- Para los Niños de América en el Día de las Américas.** By Gastón Figueira (mimeographed, pp. 15). Poems by the great Uruguayan poet about America.
- Christ of the Andes.** A Play (mimeographed, pp. 3). A project worked out by a sixth grade class under direction of Mrs. Eleanor Holston Brainard, North Bergen, N. J.
- Trechos da Litteratura Brasileira** (mimeographed, pp. 10). Bits of prose and poetry from various Brazilian writers.
- Sources for Latin American Music** (mimeographed, pp. 4). Brief lists of Hispanic American music, band and orchestra arrangements, phonograph records, and books containing lists of Hispanic American musical compositions which are obtainable in the United States.

## LIST OF GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING HISPANIC AMERICA

The items here listed have been taken from the January, February, and March 1937 *Monthly Catalog, United States Public Documents (With Prices)*, issued by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. All items have been listed as they appear in the catalog, including the Library of Congress card number whenever given.

### BRAZIL

1. *Christmas in Brazil*; by Annie D'Armond Marchant. [1937.] 4 p. il. [From Bulletin, Pan American Union, Dec. 1936.] PA 1.6/a: B 739
2. *São Paulo, Brazil*. Scale of living of working class in São Paulo, Brazil; by Horace B. Davis and Marian Rubins Davis. [1937.] 9 p. (Serial no. R. 504.) [From Monthly labor review, Jan. 1937.] L 2.6/a: C 823/11

### CHILE

3. *Chile*. Anchorages on coast of Chile, from latest Chilean surveys; chart 1566. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Jan. 1897, 11th edition, Dec. 1936, corrected through Notice to mariners 3, Jan. 20 [1937]. 16.8 × 23.1 in. 20c.  
N 6.18: 1566

Camarones Cove (De Cuya Cove).  
Chica Cove.  
Colorado Cove.  
Coloso Cove.  
Gualaguala Cove.  
Michilla Cove.

### COSTA RICA

4. *Limón, Costa Rica*. Port Limon, Costa Rica, east coast of Central America, compiled from latest information; with inset, Port Vargas, compiled from latest information; chart 1293. Scale 2,000 yds. = 12 in., natural scale 1: 6,012. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published June 1913, 6th edition, Jan. 1937, corrected through Notice to mariners 8, Feb. 24 [1937]. 22.1 × 28.7 in. 30c.  
N 6.18: 1293

### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

5. *Santo Domingo City, Dominican Republic*. Puerto de Ciudad Trujillo (Santo Domingo Harbor), Dominican Republic. Hispaniola, south coast, W. I., from U. S. naval surveys in 1912 and 1914, with corrections from Dominican Republic plan of 1936; chart 2283. Scale 2,000 yds. = 9.8 in., natural scale 1: 7,296. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Jan. 1906, 13th edition, Dec. 1936. 24.7 × 16 in. 30c.  
N 6.18: 2283

## GUATEMALA

6. *Guatemala* [foreign trade of Guatemala for 1935] latest reports from Guatemalan official sources. 1937. [1] + 6 p. (Foreign trade series no. 157.) Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 13-6844 PA 1.19: 157

## HONDURAS

7. *Honduras* [foreign trade of Honduras for 1935] latest reports from Honduran official sources. 1937. [1] + 8 + [1] p. (Foreign trade series no. 156.) Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 22-26934 PA 1.19: 156

## MEXICO

8. *Mexico*. Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 84, Mexico and Central American pilot (west coast), corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Feb. 18, 1928) to Jan. 1, 1937. 1937 [1] + 29 leaves. N 6.8: 84/928-10

## PANAMA AND THE CANAL ZONE

9. *Appropriations*. Estimates for The Panama Canal, 1938. [1937.] cover title, [1] + 696-709 p. 4° [Extract from Budget Bureau, Budget, 1938.]  
W 79.11/2: Es 8/938
10. *Cristobal, C. Z.* Port of Cristobal, Panama Canal, Atlantic Coast, surveys to 1905, surveys by The Panama Canal, and other sources to 1936; chart 950. Scale 1: 15,000. Washington, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Jan. 1937. 34.8 × 28.2 in. 75c. C 4.9: 950
11. *Panama Canal*. Canal Zone, Central America, from U. S. Government surveys to 1933 [with insets]; chart 5000. Scale naut. m. = 1.8 in., natural scale 1: 40,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Dec. 1914, 15th edition, Jan. 1937. 40.1 × 33 in. [Map is in 2 sections.] 60c. N 6.18: 5000  
Balboa Harbor.  
Mirafleres Lake.
12. *Panama Canal record*, v. 30, No. 6; Jan. 15, 1937. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1937]. p. 85-100. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 30/6
13. ——— No. 7; Feb. 15, 1937. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1937]. p. 101-116. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5 30/7
14. ——— No. 8; Mar. 15, 1937. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1937]. p. 117-132. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 30/8
15. *Panama Canal*. Superannuation compensation for certain employees of Panama Canal, hearing, 75th Congress, 1st session, on H. R. 1568 and H. R. 5483, Mar. 10 and 22, 1937 (including reprint of similar hearings during 74th Congress). 1937. iii + 34 + iii + 39 p. Paper, 10c. Y 4.M 53: P 19/2
16. *Panama Canal tolls*, message from President of United States transmitting report of special committee appointed by the President on Panama Canal tolls and vessel measurement rules. 1937. xxii + 150 p. il. (S. doc. 23, 75th Cong.

1st sess.) [This is the final and somewhat revised form of the report presented to the President on Dec. 31, 1936.] Paper, 15c.

L. C. card 37-26374

17. *Passenger connections* from Panama Canal, ocean vessels, air services; revised as of Jan. 1, 1937. Panama Canal Press, Mount Hope, C. Z., 1937. cover title, 20 p. The Panama Canal, Washington, D. C. W 79.2: P 26
18. *Rules for inspecting and servicing of rolling stock of Panama Railroad*. Revised Aug. 31, 1936. Panama Canal Press, Mount Hope, C. Z., 1936. 25 p. il 24°. W 79.13/2: R 65/936
19. *Telephone directory*. The Panama Canal, telephone directory, Jan. 1, 1937. Panama Canal Press, Mount Hope, C. Z., 1937. Cover title, 252 p. il. Paper, 40c., Executive Office, The Panama Canal, Balboa Heights, C. Z. W 79.2: T 23/5/937
20. *Traffic*. Suplemento no. 10 al pamfletto de 1935, Leyes y reglamentos sobre carreteras, vehículos, y tráfico vehicular. [Panama Canal Press, Mount Hope, C. Z., Dec. 19, 1936.] 7 leaves, 24° [The publication which this supplements was published by The Panama Canal. Previous supplements were not published.] W 79.2: H 53/3/936/Spanish/supp. 10

## PERU

21. *Peru* [foreign trade of Peru for 1935] latest reports from Peruvian official sources. 1937. [1] + 11 + [1] p. (Foreign trade series no. 155). Paper, 5c. L. C. card 22-26690 PA 1.19: 155
22. *Peru*. Harkness collection in Library of Congress: Documents from early Peru, the Pizarros and the Almagros, 1531-78; [prepared by Stella R. Clemence]. 1936. xi + 253 p. large 8° Cloth, \$3.25. L. C. card 36-26004 LC 4.2: H 22/2

## PUERTO RICO

23. *Post route maps*. Post route maps of—  
Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands. Scale 5 m. = 1 in. 60c.
24. *Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration*. Administración de Reconstrucción de Puerto Rico; [por José L. Colom]. [1937.] ii + 18 p. il. (Serie de salubridad pública y previsión social no. 86.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, diciembre 1936.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.15: s 86
25. *Report*. 36th annual report of governor of Puerto Rico, Blanton Winship, [fiscal year] 1936. [San Juan, P. R., Bureau of Supplies, Printing, and Transportation, 1936.] 221 p. il. 3 maps, 3 tab. L. C. card 6-35095 I 35.12/1: 936
26. *Sugar*. Allotment of additional quota to Puerto Rico, order made by Secretary of Agriculture under Public resolution 109 and agricultural adjustment act. Dec. 22, 1936 [published 1937]. [2] p. (Puerto Rico sugar order 4, revision 2, supplement 2.) A 55.18: 4/rev. 2/supp. 2

## WEST INDIES

27. *West Indies*. Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 128, Sailing directions for West Indies, v. 1, sections A and B, corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Jan. 1, 1936) to Jan. 1, 1937. 1937. [1] + 8 leaves. N 6.8: 128/936-A, B/supp. 1

28. *West Indies*. Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 129, West Indies pilot, v. 2, corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Feb. 9, 1929) to Jan. 1, 1937. 1937. [1] + 29 leaves. N 6.8: 129/929-9

## CENTRAL AMERICA

29. *Central America*. Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 130, Central America and Mexico pilot (east coast), corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Aug. 13, 1927) to Jan. 1, 1937. 1937. [1] + 26 leaves. N 6.8: 130/927-11
30. *Pilot charts*. Pilot chart of Central American waters, Feb. 1937; chart 3500. Scale 1° long. = 0.7 in. Washington. Hydrographic Office, Jan. 18, 1937. 23.3 × 35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 937/2
31. ——— Pilot chart of Central American waters, Mar. 1937; chart 3500. Scale 1° long. = 0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Feb. 17, 1937. 23.3 × 35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 937/3
32. ——— Pilot chart of Central American waters, Apr. 1937; chart 3500. Scale 1° long. = 0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Mar. 15, 1937. 23.3 × 35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.25: 937/4

## SOUTH AMERICA

33. *South America*. Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 172, Sailing directions for South America, v. 1, corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Sept. 26, 1935) to Jan. 1, 1937. 1937. [1] + 7 leaves. N 6.8: 172/935-2
34. ——— Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 173, South American pilot, v. 2, corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Nov. 16, 1929) to Jan. 1, 1937. 1937. [1] + 34 leaves. N 6.8: 173/929-8
35. ——— Supplement to Hydrographic Office publication 174, South American pilot, v. 3, corrections and additions from Notices to mariners and other sources from date of publication (Sept. 15, 1929) to Jan. 1, 1937. 1937. [1] + 45 leaves. N 6.8: 174/928-9

## HISPANIC AMERICA

36. *Finance*. Latin American financial notes, no. 211 and 212, Jan. 14 and 29, 1937; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1937.] 21 leaves and 18 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$2.00. C 18.107: 211, 212
37. ——— Latin American financial notes, no. 213 and 214, Feb. 14 and 28, 1937; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1937.] 23 leaves and 21 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$2.00. C 18.107: 213, 214
38. *Food*. Same: Tropical products, v. 13, no. 16 and 17, Feb. 5 and 19, 1937; prepared fortnightly by Foodstuffs Division. [1937.] 13 leaves and 10 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$3.00. C 18.72/7: 13/16, 17

39. ——— Same: Tropical products, v. 13, no. 18 and 19, Mar. 5 and 19, 1937; prepared fortnightly by Foodstuffs Division. [1937.] 10 leaves and 24 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$3.00.

C 18.72/7: 13/18, 19

## UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH HISPANIC AMERICA

40. *Addresses*. Opening address to Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace, by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Dec. 5, 1936. 1936. [2] + 14 p. narrow 8° (Conference series 25; [Publication 959].) [Originally issued as mimeographed press release for publication Dec. 5, 1936.] Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 37-26048 S 5.30: 25
41. ——— Accomplishments of Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace, address by Sumner Welles, assistant Secretary of State, before Peoples Mandate to Governments to End War, New York City, Feb. 4, 1937. 1937. [2] + 14 p. narrow 8° (Conference series 26; [Publication 984].) [Originally issued as mimeographed press release for publication Feb. 4, 1937.] Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 37-26202 S 5.30: 26
42. ——— Results and significance of Buenos Aires conference, address by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, before Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, Feb. 25, 1937. 1937. [2] + 12 p. narrow 8° (Conference series 27; [Publication 989].) [Originally issued as mimeographed press release for publication Feb. 25, 1937.] Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 37-26248 S 5.30: 27
43. *Military mission*, agreement between United States and Brazil; signed Nov. 12, 1936, effective Nov. 12, 1936. 1936. [2] + 2-13 p. (Executive agreement series 98; [Publication 962].) [English and Portuguese.] Paper, 5c.  
L. C. card 37-26049 S 9.8: 98

NOTE.—The present number in the Executive agreement series may be filed in the Treaty series after Treaty series 911.

## MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED

44. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, Jan. 1937; [v. 71, no. 1]. [1937.] iv + 1-83 p. il. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6: e 71/1
45. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, janeiro 1937; [v. 39, no. 1]. [1937.] iv + 1-84 p. il. [Monthly. The volume number of this issue is incorrectly given on p. 1 as 34 instead of 39 but is correctly given on back title.]  
L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6: p 39/1
46. ——— (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, enero 1937; [v. 71, no. 1]. [1936.] iv + 1-92 p. il. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 12-12555 PA 1.6: s 71/1
47. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, Feb. 1937; [v. 71, no. 2]. [1937.] iv + 85-216 p. il. [Monthly. Number dedicated to Pan American Day, Apr. 14.]  
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6: e 71/2
48. ——— Same, v. 70, Jan.-Dec. 1936 [title page and index]. [1937.] xxix p.  
PA 1.6: e 70/t. p. & ind.

49. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, fevereiro 1937; [v. 39, no. 2]. [1937.] iv + 85-216 p. il. [Monthly. The volume number of this issue is incorrectly given on p. 85 as 38 instead of 39 but is correctly given on back title. This number is entitled Edição especial dedicada ao Dia Panamericano.]  
L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6: p 39/2
50. ——— (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, febrero 1937; [v. 71 no. 21]. [1937.] iv + 93-232 p. il. [Monthly. This number is entitled Edición especial dedicada al Día de las Américas, 14 de abril.]  
L. C. card 12-12555 PA 1.6: s 71/2
51. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, Mar. 1937; [v. 71, no. 3]. [1937.] iv + 217-292 p. il. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6: e 71/3
52. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, março 1937; [v. 39, no. 3.] [1937.] iv + 217-276 p. il. [Monthly.]  
L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6: p 39/3
53. ——— (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, marzo 1937; [v. 71, no. 3]. [1937.] iv + 233-316 p. il. [Monthly. A processed correction sheet, 1 p. 4°, was also issued.]  
L. C. card 12-12555 PA 1.6: s 71/3
54. ——— Same, v. 70, enero-diciembre 1936 [frontispicio e índice]. [1937.] xxi p. PA 1.6: s 70/t. p. & ind.
55. *Earthworms*. New North American species of earthworms of family Megascleidae [with list of literature cited]; by Frank Smith. 1937. p. 157-181. (Proceedings, v. 84; no. 3009.) SI 3.6: 3009
56. *Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition*, report to accompany H. J. Res. 136 [authorizing the President to invite Pan-American Republics and Dominion of Canada to participate in proposed Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition]; submitted by Mr. Johnson of Texas. Jan. 28, 1937. 2 p. (H. rp. 75, 75th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
57. *Dallas, Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition, 1937*. Permit articles imported from foreign countries for purpose of exhibition at Greater Texas and Pan-American Exposition, Dallas, Tex., to be admitted without payment of tariff, report to accompany H. J. Res. 221; submitted by Mr. Sanders. Mar. 9, 1937. 1 p. (H. rp. 364, 75th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
58. ——— Permit articles imported from foreign countries for purpose of exhibition at Greater Texas and Pan-American Exposition, Dallas, Tex., to be admitted without payment of tariff, report to accompany H. J. Res. 221; submitted by Mr. Connally. Mar. 15, 1937. 1 p. (S. rp. 177, 75th Cong. 1st sess.) Paper, 5c.
59. ——— Texas Centennial Exposition, report to accompany S. J. Res. 66 [providing for participation by United States in Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition to be held in Dallas, Tex., during 1937]; submitted by Mr. Johnson of Texas. Mar. 15, 1937. 2 p. (H. rep. 386, 75th Cong. 1st sess.) [S. J. Res. 66 establishes the United States Greater Texas and Pan American Exposi-